THE LIFE OF Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné,

CONTAINING

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT

OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

DURING THE

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE

IN THE REIGNS OF

CHARLES IX. HENRY III. HENRY IV.

AND IN THE

MINORITY OF LEWIS XIII.

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE is a ſecret ſatisfaction in relating the actions of a man who has particularly engaged our eſteem; we flatter ourſelves we ſhall by this means communicate to others part of the pleaſure which the contemplation of them has afforded ourſelves; and we fancy we are doing an act of juſtice, in holding forth to public view a character, which ought not to ſink into oblivion, with the deſpicable race of beings, who in their paſſage from the cradle to the grave, performed no action worthy of record; whether from a regular courſe of vicious conduct, or from that inſipid inſignificance with which the lives of ſome men is tinctured, in whom though cenſure can find no grievous offences, candour can diſcover nothing to commend; who equally void of ſtrong paſſions to ſeduce them into evil, or of virtues to ſtimulate them to worthy actions, are through life, like Mahomet's tomb, ſuſpended between Heaven and Hell; who being mere negatives, are deſti-

tute of either positive virtue or vice; yet by no means innocent, for they incur great guilt by the neglect of a due exertion of the talents, which were committed to their trust for useful purposes. The justice of a fair representation is more especially due to men from whom it has long been withheld. Such has been the lot of the Huguenots. Their actions have been related by historians, who were under the influence both of party and religious prejudices; men blinded by passion, and warped by interest, as incapable of judging with candour, as averse to acknowledging truths, which might give offence to the Powerful. Near the times of the dreadful desolation made by those civil wars, the hatred excited by the contention must have influenced the minds of men, and given asperity to their pens; but many of the French historians wrote after the cruel and impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz; and little justice could the Huguenots expect, under the reign of their bigoted persecutor.

YET the merit of Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné was so conspicuous, that there

is no doubt, but during the time his grand daughter, Madame de Maintenon, ſhone in the moſt exalted ſphere, many perſons would have been employed in collecting the various incidents of his life, and preſenting him in full luſtre to the world, had not his attachment to the reformed religion been conſidered, even by her, as a crime, that overbalanced all his virtues. Integrity, courage, and conſtancy, would appear to change their nature, and become criminal in the eyes of ſo bigoted a woman, when exerciſed in the defence of tenets, which ſhe conſidered as heretical. She would reflect with horror on thoſe parts of his conduct, which to the unprejudiced eye appear moſt laudable; and would bluſh where ſhe had reaſon to boaſt. Had not this been the caſe, the ſervile pens of mercenary flatterers would not have been employed in endeavouring to dignify, by a ſuppoſed royal deſcent, a man who had ſo juſt a title to honour, far more intrinſic from his noble actions, and unblemiſhed virtue. But the ſpirit and conſtancy, with which he expoſed both his life and fortune, in defence of his religion, could not be an agreeable ſubject of con-

templation to a woman, who deteſted the tenets he profeſſed, and practiſed both deceit and force to prevail on all whom ſhe could influence, to abjure them, even the deſcendants of that man who from the regular courſe of his actions we may reaſonably believe, would have readily ſacrificed his life, could he thereby have purchaſed for them a ſteady perſeverance in the religion, to which he was ſo warmly attached.

I AM ſenſible, that when his grand daughter was in the zenith of her power, Agrippa D'Aubigné would have appeared more worthy of public attention, than at preſent: but a brave and honeſt man muſt always be an intereſting object; and the contemplation of great virtues, even of a ſort the leaſt ſuited to the faſhion of the times, will ever warm the heart. Of ſuch I truſt the ſubject of the following ſheets will be found poſſeſſed; though it is certain, that when an author makes choice of a character, becauſe it is particularly pleaſing to himſelf, he would be very unreaſonable were he to expect, that it ſhould become equally the favourite of his readers. Taſte influences

our judgements in regard to virtue, as in other things; people differ concerning intellectual as well as corporeal beauty, but they differ only in degrees of approbation; they will give a preference to one particular turn of mind or features, but ſome charms will be allowed to every object, that can produce any juſt claim to real beauty, though it be not of the kind moſt agreeable to the peculiar taſte of the ſpectator, or of the reader.

THE undeviating rectitude, the perfect conſiſtency, the unſpotted virtue of Agrippa D'Aubigné's character render him one of the beſt examples, that hiſtory can exhibit. The camp of Henry IV. and the court of Catharine de Medicis contained many illuſtrious men. Times of trouble are times of heroiſm; but in the ſhock of intereſt, the contentions of party rage, and all the heat of irritated ambition, it is very rare to find unſhaken integrity; in this time it was ſtill more to be admired, as Catherine de Medicis ſo eminently poſſeſſed, and with ſuch general ſucceſs employed the arts of ſeduction; to the ambitious ſhe held forth the

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temptations of power, to the avaritious of wealth, to the luxurious of pleasure. Never had the great enemy of mankind so able a minister, and so faithful a representative. Every species of dissimulation, every mode of treachery, was adopted by her to allure, to betray, and to ruin: not only on the common frailty of human nature, or on the weakness of peculiar dispositions, did she found her hopes and schemes to corrupt, but even when zeal for right objects was carried beyond just bounds, or a virtue beyond its due proportion, she watched the opportunity for mischief. But D'Aubigné was under a better guard than human prudence; and in spight of all the snares she laid for him, or the temptations the nature of the times, and the solicitations of a prince he loved put in his way, he walked surely and uprightly, by following invariably the undefiled law which giveth light to the simple; the faithful disciple of this law, he lived with honour, and died in peace; and possesses the best renown, an honest fame, while his adversary, the pupil of Machiavel, led a life of turbulence and in-

infelicity, and left a memory detested by all good, and despised by all wise men.

SOME may think the conduct of a man, who was not greatly exalted by birth, nor dignified by titles, nor rendered conspicuous by the splendor of riches, below their notice; but in his own words I will endeavour to obviate the objection. In the beginning of his private memoirs, he addresses his children, for whose use he wrote them, nearly to this effect:

"IN the works of the ancients, and in "the lives of emperors, and other great "men of antiquity, we may be taught "both by precept and example, how to re-"pel the attacks of an enemy, and to baffle "the machinations of rebellious subjects: "but you cannot there find any instruc-"tions for common life, which to you, "my children, is a more necessary branch "of knowledge. For in the sphere wherein "you are to move, the actions of private "men, not of princes, are the proper ob-"jects of your imitation; you can seldom "have to contend with any but your

" equals; and in your intercourse with " them, you will have more occasion for " dexterity and address, than for force. " Henry the Great was not pleased to see " any of his dependants apply closely to the " perusal of the lives of kings and emperors; " and having observed monsieur de Neufvy " much attached to the study of Tacitus, " apprehensive lest a destructive ambition " should be excited in a man of his spirit, " he advised him to lay aside the book, and " confine himself to the histories of persons " of his own rank.

" THIS advice I address to you; and in " compliance with your reasonable request, " I here give an historical account of my life, " with that paternal freedom and confidence " which allows me to lay open every action, " which it would have been a shameful " impertinence to have inserted in my Uni- " versal History. As I can neither blush " from conscious vanity in relating my good " actions, nor from shame in confessing " my faults to you, my children, I shall " recount every minute particular as if you " were still sitting on my knee, and listen-

" ing to me, with the amiable ſimplicity
" of childiſh attention. My deſire is, that
" what I have done well may inſpire you
" with emulation, and that you may deteſt
" and avoid my faults, for I ſhall lay them
" all open before you; as they may prove
" the moſt uſeful part of my narration.
" To you I leave it to make ſuch reflexions
" upon them, as reaſon and virtue ſhall
" ſuggeſt. Actions muſt be judged of by
" their motives, not by their conſequences.
" Good or ill fortune are not at our com-
" mand; they are diſpenſed by a ſuperior
" and a wiſer power."

D'AUBIGNE's addreſs to his children I may apply to my readers; the courage of an Alexander, the popularity of a Cæſar, the arts of an Auguſtus, or to approach nearer to the purſuits of a nation of politicians, the ſubtilties of a Machiavel offer no ſubject of imitation to the greateſt part of mankind. Such exalted ſtations as call for the exertion of talents like theirs are above the reach of moſt men, and ought to be foreign to their wiſhes. But the man of ſteady integrity, of inflexible virtue, of noble

noble frankneſs, of diſintereſted generoſity, and of warm and ſincere piety, is an object every man may, and every man ought to imitate. Virtue is within the reach of every ſtation; it cannot, in all, wear a dreſs equally ſplendid, but it is alike reſpectable in its plaineſt garb, and in its richeſt attire.

WHILE we admire the heroic virtues of many, who lived in France at that period, we have reaſon to return thanks to Providence, that we are born in times wherein ſuch virtues are not called forth in our countrymen by dreadful occaſion. A civil war is the nurſery of heroes. That ſlaughter and deſolation, which ſink the greateſt part of a nation into deſpair and wretchedneſs, elevate the ſoul of a brave man almoſt above mortality. He ſtruggles with that fate, which others droop under, and ſeeks, in the purſuit of glory, for ſome compenſation for the loſs of that happineſs, of which the ravages of war deprive him, as well as the reſt of his countrymen. Animated by a bolder ſpirit, he attempts to conquer thoſe evils, which ſofter natures endeavour patiently to endure.

THE feeds of thofe civil wars, wherein D'Aubigné was engaged during the greateft part of his life, were fown before his birth. The rapid progrefs of the reformed religion in France, alarmed thofe of the eftablifhed church, and excited the civil power to take fuch meafures to fupprefs it, as rather caufed its increafe; for the effects of perfecution have ever been directly contrary to the views of thofe who employed it. Difappointment added rage to the bigotry of the perfecutors; and fear and refentment heated the zeal of the perfecuted; but the enmity between the two parties did not break out into open hoftilities, during the life of Henry II. who was accidentally killed in a tournament by the count de Montgommery, in July 1559; nor in the fhort reign of his fon and fucceffor Francis II. but in the minority of Charles IX. who afcended the throne of France on the fifth of December 1560, the kingdom became involved in all the horrors of a civil war.

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THE LIFE OF THEODORE AGRIPPA D'AUBIGNE'.

THEODORE Agrippa D'Aubigné was born the eighth of February, in the year 1550, old style *. Some have laboured to prove him the son of Jane queen of Navarre, in a private marriage, after the death of her husband Anthony of Bourbon †: but this supposition was probably first conceived in the time of Madame de Maintenon, by the inventive brain of some flattering courtier, who sought to recommend himself to favour, by attributing to her an extraction which raised her nearer to a level with Louis the fourteenth: wherein he might have succeeded better had her family been more obscure; but it was too well known to numbers, that Theodore was son to John D'Aubigné lord of Brie, in Saintonge, and Catherine de l'Estang, who died in bringing him into the world; and that he was born twelve years before the death of Anthony of Bourbon.

A. D. 1550. Old Stile. Birth of T. A. D'Aubigné.

* Histoire Secrete D'Aubigné, p. 3.
† Bayle under the head of Navarre.

John D'Aubigné, who was a zealous huguenot, and occupied a conſiderable poſt in that party, being no leſs careful to procure for his ſon literary inſtruction, than to have the principles of true religion and virtue inſtilled into his infant mind; cauſed him to be taught the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew letters at the ſame time; wherein he made ſo quick a progreſs, that at ſix years old he could read all thoſe languages; though his application to them had not made him neglect his native tongue. At the age of ſeven years and a half he tranſlated Plato's Crito; ſtimulated to an undertaking at his age ſo arduous, by his father's promiſe of printing it with his picture annexed *. An early proof of the ſpirit of emulation ſo viſible in his riper years; which ſeldom operated in him except as an incentive to the purſuit of glory.

His progreſs in learning.

Few men arrive at maturity without their natural diſpoſitions having ſuffered ſo conſiderable an alteration from external circumſtances, from the peculiarity of their education, from the influence of their early connexions, from the intereſted views of their riper years, from the force of reaſon, or the power of reflexion, that after they are entered into active life it is difficult to diſcover the natural bent of their tempers. When they appear on the great theatre of the world, like actors on leſſer ſtages, they frequently aſſume feigned characters: having choſen their part, their ſole ſtudy is to keep up to it, though at the expence of their natural feelings; which they ſacrifice, to ſome (poſſibly ideal) good, which they have propoſed to themſelves

* Hiſtoire Secrete D'Aubigné, p. 4.

as the ultimate end of all their actions. D'Aubigné was one of the few who retained through life the bent that nature had given him; he continued invariably the ſame in proſperous and adverſe fortune; in courts or camps; when high in favour with his prince, and when baniſhed from his preſence. That the ſame temper which actuated him through life was born with him, is ſo evident from ſome characteriſtic ſtrokes in his childhood, recorded by himſelf, that I hope I may be allowed to relate them; for though the puerilities of infancy to ſome appear too trifling, yet if we conſider that in early youth we ſee the natural character, uncontaminated by intercourſe with the world, and undiſguiſed by affectation, they become important, as they bring us well acquainted with the man; they introduce us directly into his heart, into which, at a more mature age, we cannot penetrate without paſſing through an intricate, almoſt an impervious labyrinth.

A. D. 1559. Goes to Paris.

When Agrippa D'Aubigné had attained his ninth year, his father carried him to Paris. Agrippa relates an incident in this journey, which ſhews the warmth of his father's zeal. They arrived at Amboiſe ſoon after the conſpiracy of the diſcontented catholics and the huguenots againſt the Guiſes had been diſcovered, defeated, and very ſeverely puniſhed; many of the conſpirators heads were ſtill fixed on the gallows, and ſo little changed, that the elder D'Aubigné could diſtinguiſh the faces of his friends. So afflicting, and ſo horrible a ſpectacle, threw him off his guard, and although he was in the midſt of a crowd of ſeven or eight hundred perſons, ſtruck with horror and reſentment, he cried

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out, "Oh! the traitors! they have murdered "France!" and laying his hand on his son's head, said, "My son, I charge thee at the "hazard of thine own head, as I will at the "hazard of mine, revenge these honourable "chiefs; and if thou failest to attempt it, my "curse shall fall upon thee *." The croud that were beholding the horrid spectacle with the malignant pleasure of cruel bigots, were so offended at the boldness of D'Aubigne, that it was with difficulty he and his escorts escaped the effects of their resentment.

A. D. 1562. THUS was Agrippa D'Aubigné, like another Hannibal, dedicated by paternal authority to the support of that cause to which his father sacrificed his life. By an edict, published in January 1562, liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion, while they continued unarmed, was granted to the huguenots. This seeming security encouraged the elder D'Aubigné to carry his son again to Paris, and place him under the care of Matthew Beroalde, a man of great learning, and of the reformed religion. But so little were the conditions of this edict regarded, that in many places, among which Vassy was rendered most remarkable by the duke of Guise's presence, and because the massacre was begun by his attendants, the huguenots while assembled at their devotions were set upon by the catholics; and being unarmed were easily murdered †. The reformed, perceiving that their destruction would thus be gradually

Placed under Beroalde at Paris.

April 2d. Massacre of Vassy.

* Ibid.

† Hist. de Charles IX. par Varillas, tom. I. liv. ii. p. 216. De Thou, tom. iii. p. 128. Vie de Gaspard de Coligny, liv. iv. p. 243.

effected

effected under the colour of an insidious peace, judged that open war was less fatal. The prince of Condé, and all the chief persons of the party, were inclined to take arms, except the admiral de Coligny, who could not be brought into their measures; and was of so great importance and high credit amongst them, that his opposition threw a damp on their spirits, and prevented their coming to any resolution; nor had they any hope remaining of bringing him over to their opinion, when his wife's persuasions effected it: her magnanimity conquered his irresolution; he complied with the solicitations of his party; they took up arms, and the first action they performed was the taking of Orleans *. This open act of hostility exasperated their enemies, who thereupon increased their persecutions; and so great was the cruelty exercised in Paris, that the huguenots could expect no safety but in flight. Among those reduced to this extremity was Matthew Beroalde; he took with him his family and his pupil, who appeared so much affected at leaving a little study of books, which had been elegantly fitted up, and furnished in the manner most agreeable to him, as a consolation for being removed so far from his family, that Beroalde, taking him by the hand, said, "My little friend, "are you insensible to the peculiar happiness of "having it in your power at so early an age to "lose something for him, who has given every "thing to you †:"

The huguenots take up arms.

D'Aubigné obliged to quit Paris.

This little party, consisting of four men, three women, and two children, got safe as far as

* Pere Dan. tom. iv. p. 735. De Thou, tom. iii. p. 136.
† Hist. Secrete du sieur D'Aubigné, p. 5.

Taken at Courances.

Courances, a village near Milly, in the province of Gaſtinois, two leagues from Fontainbleau; but were there ſeized by the chevalier D'Achon, who commanded a troop of 100 horſe in that place, and were by him given up to the inquiſitor.

Committed to priſon.

D'Aubigné entered the priſon unmoved; but when they took from him his little ſword, his fortitude failed, and he ſhed tears. The inquiſitor examined him apart from the reſt, and was much offended by the freedom and ſpirit of his anſwers. His youth, his perſon, and the elegance of his dreſs, which was white ſattin, attracted the notice of ſome of the officers; and pleaſed with his behaviour, they carried him to the chevalier D'Achon, who was then entertaining a large company of gentlemen and ladies.

Condemned to be burnt.

D'Aubigné being there informed that he, and the friends that accompanied him, were condemned to be burnt, perhaps only with an intention to intimidate him, and that when the hour of execution came it would be too late to

Adviſed to abjure.

retract his hereſy, was preſſed to immediate abjuration; but with ſpirit and fortitude above his

His anſwer.

years, he replied, that "he felt more horror at "the thoughts of the maſs, than at the ap- "proaches of death."

If the accounts left us of the perſecutions of thoſe times did not ſhew, that bigotry can extinguiſh every ſenſation of humanity, it would be difficult to believe that the condemnation of any perſons to a cruel death, could be an agreeable ſubject of converſation in a ball-room; and more difficult ſtill to believe that the company ſhould require a youth under that ſentence, or who ſuppoſed himſelf ſo, to dance for their amuſement; but ſo it was; the chevalier D'Achon

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commanded him to dance a galliarde, the very name of which ſhews it to have been of a ſort that few perſons in ſuch circumſtances would have been able to perform: but D'Aubigné obeyed, and acquitted himſelf with ſo much grace and ſpirit, as gained him the applauſe and favour of the whole aſſembly; yet he was carried back to priſon by the inquiſitor; who not content with ſo harſh an exerciſe of his power, loaded him with abuſe.

When Beroalde learnt from his pupil that they were already condemned, he began to ſound the reſolution of his companions, who were with great facility reconciled to the death that awaited them. In the evening, the perſons that brought them food ſhewed them the hangman of Milly, preparing every requiſite for their execution the next day.*

But a power ſuperior to their inhuman perſecutors had ordered it otherwiſe. As ſoon as their priſon door was ſhut, they joined in prayer, their whole buſineſs being now (as they believed) to prepare themſelves for their approaching death; but after having ſpent about two hours in inſpiring each other, and themſelves with fortitude, the officer who was appointed to guard them entered the room, and after careſſing the little D'Aubigné addreſſed himſelf to Beroalde, ſaying, "I am determined at the hazard of my life "to ſave you all for the ſake of this child; keep "yourſelves ready to follow me at a minute's "notice; but in the mean time give me fifty "or ſixty crowns to bribe two men, without

His deliverance.

* Ibid. p. 6.

 "whoſe

"whose connivance I cannot effect it." Sixty crowns, which they had concealed about them, were immediately given him; for though people who had long been exposed to a series of villanies from those who held that faith was not to be kept with heretics, might doubt the officer's sincerity, yet they had no inducement to be careful of money which could not be of any use in their situation.

At midnight the officer returned accompanied by two men, and said to Beroalde, "You told "me the father of this boy is commander in Or-"leans; promise to get me received into his com-"pany." Beroalde readily assured him that it should be so, beside a considerable reward for the good service he would render them. The officer then giving his hand to D'Aubigné, made them all take hold of each other, and thus led them on in silence till they had passed the centinel who guarded the place; and conducted them through private ways into the high road to Montargis *.

Goes to Montargis.

At Montargis they were received with the greatest humanity by the dowager duchess of Ferara, daughter to Louis XII. and she was so pleased with D'Aubigné, that she made him sit by her for three hours, to hear him expatiate on the contempt of death, an unusual topic at his age; but in such times, when the most cruel executions were continually before their eyes, even children became familiarized with the subject; and no doubt but the first lessons they received were such as would best enable them to

* Ibid. p. 7.

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ſupport the ſevere trials to which they might be called; as no age exempted the Huguenots from the barbarity of their perſecutors; and to this early inſtruction we may attribute the many inſtances at that time of infant martyrdom.

The ducheſs of Ferara having entertained her gueſts for three days, in the manner moſt proper to refreſh them after ſo much fatigue and anxiety, cauſed them to be ſafely conducted to Gien; where they had been a month, when the king's forces approaching to lay ſiege to the place, they fled from it, not without hazard, to Orleans. In that town a ſtill greater danger awaited them; Agrippa D'Aubigné was the firſt perſon ſeized with the plague, which afterwards carried off 30,000 perſons; during his ſickneſs he ſaw his ſurgeon, and four of his attendants, die of it in his chamber; but he at length recovered; and by the time his father returned from Guyenne, where he had been obliged to go during his ſon's ſickneſs to haſten a reinforcement of the garriſon, he was entirely free from all the effects of that contagion, but had fallen into one that was ſtill worſe, for the licentious conduct of the officers, had infected him with ſuch vices as his age would admit of; and the father found that although his body was reſtored to health, his principles were much corrupted. As he well knew his ſon's diſpoſition, he truſted to the youth's pride for working a reformation; and declaring that his vices having degraded him beneath his birth, he was no longer qualified for any thing but manual employments, he cauſed him to be dreſſed in the manner of a common artificer, and gave orders that he ſhould be conducted into all the ſhops in the

To Gien.

To Orleans.

Falls ſick of the plague.

Recovers and becomes diſſolute.

Puniſhed by his father.

the town, that he might chuſe the trade he would beſt like to follow.

Is thrown thereby into a fever.

THIS diſgrace had ſo violent an effect on the high ſpirited Agrippa, that it threw him into a fever, accompanied with a delirium, which reduced him to the verge of the grave. As ſoon as he was ſufficiently recovered, he caſt himſelf at his father's feet, and ſolicited his pardon in an harangue ſo pathetic, that it drew tears from all preſent, and reſtored him to his father's favour; who then ſuffered him to live at an expence far above his future proſpects *.

Recovers, and is forgiven.

The battle of Dreux.

ON the 19th of December was fought the battle of Dreux †, wherein the commanders on both ſides, the conſtable de Montmorenci, and the prince of Condé, were taken priſoners; but in other reſpects the event was not ſo equal, the victory remaining with the catholics. The conſtable, with other priſoners, among whom was the chevalier D'Achon, were ſent to Orleans to be under the care of the elder D'Aubigné; who carried his ſon to viſit the man whoſe priſoner he had been at Courances. The youth mildly reproached him with the inhuman treatment he had received when in his power; but being excited by ſome that were preſent to retort part of the abuſe he had received from D'Achon, he generouſly replied, that "he could not inſult the unfortunate ‡."

* Ibid. p. 9.

† Davila, lib. iii. p. 128. Ib. Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 773. De Thou, tom. iii. p. 269.

‡ Hiſt. Secrete D'Aub. p. 10. Mem. de l'Admiral de Chatillon, p. 48.

IN

In the beginning of the following year, the duke of Guiſe laid ſiege to Orleans; and proſecuted it ſo ſucceſsfully, that the town may be ſaid to have owed its deliverance to the deteſtable hand of an aſſaſſin §; an action which caſt more diſhonour on the huguenots than any event during the whole courſe of the civil wars; for Poltrot, on being taken, depoſed, that he was hired for that purpoſe by the admiral, and other chiefs of the party; and although before his execution he denied his own depoſition, and firſt cleared all but the admiral, and afterwards the admiral alſo, on being allowed to ſpeak privately to the preſident de Thou; and notwithſtanding the perſons accuſed denied the fact; yet the event was ſo much to their advantage, that it was impoſſible to perſuade the world that they were entirely innocent of it. Even Agrippa D'Aubigné, in his Univerſal Hiſtory, allows that Poltrot had declared publickly in the huguenot army, his intention of killing the duke of Guiſe, but adds, that little regard was paid to what he ſaid, for he was conſidered as a madman *. 1563. Siege of Orleans. The duke of Guiſe aſſaſſinated by Poltrot.

The loſs of ſo great a commander determined the queen mother to agree to a pacification; and the huguenots, who were ever ready to lay down their arms on being flattered with hopes of the free exerciſe of their religion, only required to have the edict of January 1562 renewed, and better obſerved. The elder D'Aubigné was one of the perſons employed in this A pacification agreed upon.

§ De Thou, tom. iii. p. 394. Davila, lib. iii. p. 131. Mem. de Chatillon, p. 51.
* Hiſt. Univ. tom. i. lib. 3, chap. 17. p. 176.

nego-

negotiation, though not well cured of a wound he had received during the siege. After the treaty was concluded he left Orleans; but before he set out, took a more tender farewel of his son than was usual with him; and charging him to remember what he had said to him as they passed through Amboise, to preserve his zeal in the cause of religion, his love for science and for truth, he left him. An abscess gathering in his wound, he died at Amboise, without expressing any other regret at leaving the world, than that his son was not of sufficient age to succeed him in a very considerable and honourable post, which had been given him for his long and useful services to the party; but he commanded that the prince of Condé should be desired in his name, to appoint him no successor who was not resolved to die for the good of the cause *.

Death of the elder D'Aubigné.

D'AUBIGNE's grief for the death of his father was very great; and the conduct of his guardian gave him much additional vexation. His father died so deeply in debt, that it was judged proper for his son to give up all claim to his paternal estates, and to depend only on what he inherited from his mother. He was continued another year under the tuition of Beroalde; and then, being thirteen years old, was sent to Geneva, and placed in the schools there, though he was master of the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin tongues, and had gone through a course of mathematics. This mortification excited in him for a time, an aversion to study and academic restraints, and he became so wild and unruly, as exposed him frequently to punishments that his spirit

1564. New Stile. D'Aubigné sent to Geneva.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 11.

could

could by no means endure; for though Beza, who was then at Geneva, was well inclined to pardon his boyish tricks, wherein more wit and drollery than malice or any evil motive appeared, yet the inferior pedagogues were implacable; possibly the more so for perceiving that his irregularities entertained the less severe, and endered him the more pleasing *. After having passed two years at Geneva with much vexation, and no advantage, he went to Lyons unknown to his relations; and there returned to the study of mathematics.

1566. Goes privately to Lyons.

The distress in which he is involved.

This step, taken without the knowledge of his guardian, was attended by a circumstance more mortifying than the want of his approbation, even the want of money, and he soon found himself reduced into the most necessitous situation; the woman with whom he lodged, suspecting his poverty, threatened to turn him out of her house if he did not pay her what was due. This indignity, together with his extreme indigence, affected him so much, that he left the house early in the morning, and wandered about the whole day without food. As the evening drew on, and his distress was increased by the want of a place wherein to shelter himself against the inclemencies of the night, firmly resolved not to return to his lodging, he passed the bridge built over the Soane, and weary in body, and perplexed in mind, leant against the parapet wall of the bridge, and bending his head over it, gave vent to his afflicted spirits by tears, which dropped into the river. Despair suggested that the stream

* Ibid. p. 12.

offer-

offered him a period to all his diftreffes, and fuch an one, as, feeing no hope of any other, he thought greatly eligible. But however juftifiable in his difordered ftate of mind he believed that action, yet the religious principles in which he had been educated, inclined him to think that he ought to addrefs that Power, in whofe hands are the iffues of life and death, before he proceeded to execute fo defperate a refolution: with this view he commenced his prayer; but happening to conclude it with the words, *life eternal*, they gave rife to fome tremendous ideas, in comparifon with which, the evils of this fhort life appeared fo trifling, that his purpofe vanifhed; and changing the nature of his addrefs, he petitioned for fupport and affiftance in his diftrefs, rather than continue in his defign of feeking a quietus from his own hand. While he was thus employed, a gentleman, nearly related to him, paffing over the bridge in his road to Germany, knew him, and gave him the joyful intelligence of having brought him a fupply of money; which extricated him out of his prefent difficulties *.

Relieved from it.

September, 1567.

In a fhort time after, the huguenots having again taken arms †, on finding that the terms granted by the laft pacification were not fulfilled, D'Aubigné returned to his guardian, fully determined to enter among the huguenot troops; but his guardian, difapproving the meafure, put him under clofe confinement ‡.

Put under confinement by his guardian.

* Ibid p. 13. † De Thou, tom. iv. p.
‡ Hift. Sec. D'Aub. p. 14.

On the 10th of November was fought the battle of St. Dennis *, wherein the constable of Montmorenci being mortally wounded, the advantage of the day was on the side of the huguenots, which induced the queen to practise her usual arts of negociation, whereby she always found it easy to deceive the huguenots to their destruction: and early in the following year they were prevailed with to lay down their arms, on the re-publication of the edict of pacification, given in the year 1562. Battle of St. Dennis. 1568.

But this peace was of short continuance. The catholics accused the huguenots of encroaching beyond the liberties allowed them; and the huguenots complained, that the articles of peace were every where infringed, alliances entered into with neighbouring powers who engaged to join in their destruction, the stipulated exercise of their religion impeded, their people every where oppressed, and in some places cruelly treated, even to so great a degree, that they computed of persons slain during this interval of nominal peace, to the amount of ten thousand. It is not to be doubted but the enthusiasm of some of the reformed would lead them into actions that might justly offend; but the whole body had shewn a constant desire of peace, if it might be enjoyed on tolerable terms; while the unremitted endeavours of the catholics to destroy them, either by open war, by treachery, or under the sanction of ill observed pacifications, gives sufficient grounds to Cruel treatment of the huguenots.

* Vie de la Noue, p. 17. Vie de Coligny, liv. v. p. 331. Davila, lib. iv. p. 174. Mem. du Duc de Bouillon, p. 27.

believe

believe that the huguenots had most cause for complaint. In every point the catholics acted consistently with their great plan, ever keeping it in view; and their own historians acknowledge such infringements of the articles of pacification, as sufficiently justify the huguenots, while they accuse them of sedition and turbulence *. Yet, notwithstanding all these provocations, they forbore taking arms, till they were stimulated to it by the discovery of a scheme, formed by the queen, for seizing on the persons of the admiral and the prince of Condé at Noyers, who having received some intimation of her design, escaped to Rochelle †.

They take up arms.

As the late treaty had produced no real pacification, D'Aubigné's guardian, perceiving the probability of an immediate renewal of the war, had not released his ward from his confinement; but the violence used to restrain him from following his inclination was not likely to abate the ardour of a youth of his spirit; and he bore his imprisonment with such impatience, as left no room to doubt but that if possible he would make his escape: to render this the more difficult, every night, as soon as he was in bed, his cloaths were carried into his guardian's chamber: but vain were all attempts to controul one so bold and resolute. Some of his young friends, who had been permitted to see him, having engaged to enter among the new troops raised for the third religious war, on taking their leave of him, promised to discharge

D'Aubigné escapes, and joins the huguenot army.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. i. p. 262. Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 537.

† Ibid. p. 882.

a muſket under the windows of his apartment, to notify their departure. It was in the night; but the ſignal was not loſt on the priſoner, who let himſelf down from the window by tying his ſheets together, climbed over two walls, under one of which, was a well that he narrowly eſcaped, and barefooted, with no other clothing than his ſhirt, he ran after his companions; his feet bleeding with the wounds which they received from the ſharpneſs of the ſtones.

Captain St. Lo, the chief of the troop, after vainly endeavouring by reproofs and menaces to make him return home, humanely took him up behind him. In their road to Jonſac they met a ſmall body of the enemy which they eaſily defeated, and D'Aubigné thereby got a muſket: but he would not take any clothes, though his companions and neceſſity urged him to it; and arrived at Jonſac in the ſame light dreſs in which he eſcaped. When he got there, ſome officers advanced money to clothe and arm him; and to the note he gave them as ſecurity for what they had lent him, he added, "And I hereby engage not to accuſe the war "of having deprived me of any thing, as it "cannot leave me in a more pitiable condition "than that in which I entered it."

From Jonſac this little army marched to Saintes, the place of general rendezvous, where Monſ. de Mirebeau commanded, who at the deſire of D'Aubigné's relations, tried every means to prevail on him to return home, but without effect; and ſome of the officers, in conjunction with a couſin of his, attempted to ſeize

ſeize him by force; but he made ſuch good uſe of his ſword, that his couſin deſiſted, and he put himſelf under the protection of captain Aſnieres, who was at variance with Monſ. de Mirebeau.

All D'Aubigné's reſolution and ſpirit were neceſſary to enable him to ſupport the difficulties in which he had involved himſelf. The winter was extremely ſevere, yet the troops kept the field. Deſtitute of any of the conveniencies which alleviate the hardſhips, or adminiſter refreſhment to the wearied ſoldier, he was worn down with fatigue, and periſhing with cold; but his chief care was to conceal his diſtreſſes from the relations he had in the army, contented to ſuffer if he could but avoid giving them opportunities of reproaching him with obſtinacy, and exulting in his ſufferings. At the ſiege of Angoulême he had his ſhare of action in an aſſault made on the town: and at the taking of Pons, he was one of the firſt who entered the breach, and revenged an aunt of his on a captain who had attempted to violate her. He fought likewiſe at the ſkirmiſh of Jaſeneuil, and at the battle of Jarnac *, where the catholics obliged the prince of Condé to engage, before the admiral, with the greateſt part of the huguenot army, could join him. While the prince was putting on his helmet, juſt as the battle began, an unruly horſe, on which the Duke de la Rochefoucaut unfortunately happened to be mounted, ran againſt him in ſuch a manner as broke his leg; but that magnanimous prince took no other notice of it, than to bid thoſe who were

1569. Was at the ſiege of Angoulême, and at the P

Battle of Jarnac, March 13.

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 16.

near

hear obſerve the accident that had befallen him; and encouraging them to ſupport the reputation of their valour, he deſired them to remember the condition wherein Lewis of Bourbon began that day, to fight for God and his country; and immediately at the head of a ſmall corps attacked a far ſuperior body of Germans, which oppoſed that part of the army. His little troop was ſoon ſurrounded by the enemy; most of his men were killed by his ſide, his horſe was ſhot, and himſelf taken priſoner: but this misfortune exaſperated, not diſcouraged the ſmall remainder of his troops, and the battle became the moſt obſtinate of any that had been fought ſince the beginning of the civil wars. One old man was accompanied by twenty-five of his nephews, fifteen of whom were ſlain with him, the other ten taken priſoners. The Prince of Condé was ſtill in the field of battle, though a priſoner, when Monteſquieu, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou, who bore the title of general of the army, came directly from the duke, and ſhot the prince of Condé through the head. Many concurrent circumſtances made it generally believed that he committed this cruel action in obedience to the duke's immediate orders *.

Huguenots defeated.

The prince of Condé killed.

As the greateſt part of the huguenot army did not reach the field till the battle was over, the admiral was ſtill at the head of a conſiderable force; and his firſt care was to ſtrengthen the garriſons in the towns the huguenots poſſeſſed.

* Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 902. Varillas, liv. 7. p. 261. Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. i. liv. 5. p. 280.

The queen of Navarre carries her son to the admiral.

THE queen of Navarre met him at Tournai Charente, bringing with her the prince of Bearn her son, and the prince of Condé, son to the prince murdered at Jarnac, the one sixteen, the other seventeen years of age, whom she committed to his care; and recommended them to the soldiers, in an harangue so sensible and spirited, that it raised the courage of the party more than the consideration of their military strength. So much magnanimity and prudence appeared in her whole conduct during the remainder of her too short life, as proved of great service to the cause. The prince of Bearn was declared their chief; and the army took an oath never to abandon him till a safe and honourable peace was granted to their party †.

June 25.

Skirmish of Rocheabeille. October 3. * Battle of Montcontour.

D'AUBIGNE' was at the great skirmish of Rocheabeille ‡, wherein the huguenots had the advantage; but was engaged in Saintonge at the time the battle of Montcontour was fought, in which the admiral received a total defeat *.

D'Aub. engaged in an attack on le Soldat.

D'AUBIGNE' was not in a post of less danger: the huguenot troops were continually engaged in small parties, surprising and storming towns in the province of Saintonge. D'Aubigné, in conjunction with two of his friends, having raised eighty horse, and chosen for their commander the baron de Savignac, a man of great courage, and forward to undertake the most perilous enterprizes, though deprived of the

† Mem. de Chatillon, p. 103. Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 906. Dav. lib. 4. p. 209.

‡ Ibid. p. 216.

* Mem. de la reine Mar. p. 21. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. i. liv. 5. p. 307.

use

use of his legs by the palſy, after defeating two companies of the enemies horſe, made an attack in the night on a village called le Soldat, where they were ſo vigorouſly repulſed, that only four of their number, beſides the baron, eſcaped. D'Aubigné being one of them, was obliged, in ſeeking his ſafety, to paſs the river Drogne, which he would have found a difficult attempt, had he not been purſued by a peaſant, whoſe intent was to kill him; but wiſely drawing good out of evil, he obliged the man to ſhew him a ford, and conduct him to the town of Coutras: yet here he did not find himſelf in a much better ſituation; he had ſtill another river to croſs, and while he was ſeeking where he might beſt paſs it, he perceived four muſketeers coming towards him; the ſuperior danger which threatened him, putting an end to his ſearch, he plunged into the river, ſwam acroſs it, amidſt the fire of their muſkets, and landed ſafely; notwithſtanding another party on the contrary ſhore attempted to obſtruct him. †

Is repulſed.

His narrow eſcape,

THE ardour with which he entered into every hazardous enterprize, began to diſtinguiſh him from the multitude; and the following year he was truſted with the command of twenty muſketeers, of the forlorn hope, whom he kept in full employment. Archiac being beſieged, he forced his way into the place at the head of his little troop, whom he had laden with gunpowder, as a timely ſupply to the beſieged. A ſoldier of the catholic party having defied him to ſingle combat, he accepted

1570.

Made commander of a forlorn hope.

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. i. liv. 5. p. 302. Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 17.

Gains the victory in a single combat.

Is made an ensign.

The services he performed at Coignac.

Facilitates the taking of Pons.

the challenge, and remained conqueror; a victory which obtained him the offer of a pair of colours from many of the principal officers; but he refused them all, having determined to accept none but in the colonel's company, which was soon after given him. At the siege of Coignac, with another young officer, who had a like charge in the forlorn hope, he fought his way into the town, although the besieged made a valiant defence, yet he not only gained ground, but fortified himself so well therein, that the garrison was reduced to capitulate; and the captain, as an acknowledgment of the great service he had done the besiegers, gave him permission to regulate the terms of the capitulation. Every thing being prepared to begin the siege of Pons the following day, D'Aubigné, who had just got the colours he wished, obtained permission, with some difficulty, of Asnieres, the commander, to undertake some enterprize that night, in order, as he expressed it, to gain hose for his men, and was so successful as to get possession of the suburbs of Pons, more by stratagem than by force; when notifying his success to the commander, he desired him to repair thither with all convenient haste, that he might deliver the town into his hands; which, on Asniere's arrival, he immediately performed *.

Asnieres, at the head of his regiment, in which D'Aubigné was ensign, was soon after obliged to pass by Rohan, where he expected to be set upon by the baron de la Garde; D'Aubigné, ever eager for action, obtained the command of thirty musketeers: and with this small

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. i. liv. 4. chap. 25. p. 336.

ſmall corps engaging the baron in continual ſkirmiſhes, and haraſſing him, whoſe aim was to haraſs the huguenots, he gave the regiment time to perform their march in ſafety *. But this was his laſt military exploit for ſome time; he was immediately after ſeized with a fever, which confined him to his bed; and believing himſelf paſt recovery, he repented very ſeriouſly of the exceſſes he had committed in company with his forlorn hope, and very frankly acknowledged to the officers who viſited him, his enormous guilt in having ſought to command, before he was of an age to have ſufficient authority over his men to reſtrain them from plundering, or to entitle him to puniſh their cruelty. He tells us that the important truths this ſickneſs ſuggeſted to his mind, worked a conſiderable change in his morals and conduct †. Falls ill of a fever.

NEGOTIATIONS for a peace had been ſome time carrying on. Though in moſt general actions the catholics had been ſucceſsful; yet the aid the huguenots received from queen Elizabeth of England, from Flanders, and Germany, rendered them ſo formidable, that the queen mother feared a longer continuance of the war; and, believing ſhe could draw greater advantages from a pacification, ſhe granted better terms to the reformed than they had ever before obtained; allowing them, beſide a leſs reſtrained exerciſe of their religion, to retain the four fortified towns of Rochelle, Montauban, Coynac, and la Charité, for two years; with many other favourable articles ‡. Auguſt 10. Peace concluded.

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 20. † Ibid. p. 21.
‡ Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 955. Varillas, tom. ii. liv. 8. p. 375. Mem. de Chatillon, p. 118.

D'Aubigné recovers, and goes to take possession of his estate.

D'AUBIGNE' being in some measure recovered from his sickness, and the peace allowing him leisure to attend to his private affairs, he settled accounts with his guardian, and received from him a small sum of money, and the deeds of his estate of Des Landes. But when he arrived at Blois, in his road to it, he was informed that the duke de Longueville's maitre d'hotel, a maternal relation, had taken possession, claiming it as his heir; and when D'Aubigné required him to give it up, the possessor treated him as an impostor, and offered to prove to him, that Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné had been killed in an attack on the village of le Soldat, under the command of the baron de Savignac; affirming that he had authentic attestations of his death.

Finds it in the hands of a relation.

Is treated as an impostor.

D'AUBIGNE' finding that his living person would scarcely be sufficient to confute the legal testimonies of his death, applied to his maternal relations for their assistance; but they, being catholics, disclaimed him. He had an ague upon him when he came to Blois, which resentment, and vexation at the treatment he received, increased to a very dangerous degree, and reduced him to the last extremity. While he was in this condition, the man who had been his tenant, and still rented his estate, coming to see him, knew him perfectly by a scar at the corner of his forehead, occasioned by a boil when he had the plague at Orleans; but perceiving him in so deplorable a state, without any probability of recovery, he would not acknowledge him; but, injurious as his relations, treated him as an infamous impostor, to avoid paying the arrears of three years rent, which he was indebted to him. The poor youth, though disowned by his family, desti-

destitute of money, abused by his tenant, deprived of every kind of assistance or relief, and almost at the point of death with the violence of his fever, yet had not only spirit enough remaining to commence a prosecution against his unjust kinsman, but went by water to Orleans, where his cause was to be tried. In the dying condition in which he arrived there, he presented himself before his judges, who permitted him to plead his cause; which he did in so pathetic a manner, and described his complicated distress so affectingly, that his judges, irritated against his infamous opponent, rose from their places, and crying out, that "No man but the son of the "deceased D'Aubigné could plead so forcibly;" they condemned his adversary to restore to him his property, and give him all due satisfaction*.

Pleads his cause at Orleans.

It is determined in his favor.

As it does not come within my plan to enter into a detail of the history of France, during a series of years, which has been written by persons so much more capable of doing justice to the many extraordinary, and peculiarly interesting events, which distinguish that period, and render it more fertile in entertaining materials for the pen of an historian, than perhaps were ever furnished by any other nation in the same compass of time, I shall only take such notice of them as may be necessary to illustrate, and render better understood, the life of the man whose memoirs I have undertaken to write.

I HAVE already said, that the queen mother, in the favourable terms granted to the huguenots,

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 22.

had

had their destruction still in view. Her scheme was as deep as it was inhuman; and though some of the wiser part of the huguenots were led by the extraordinary favour shewn to them to suspect her of treachery, yet as few imaginations could form an idea of cruelty so horrible, her designs were beyond the reach of the most cautious and penetrating. Conscious that her disposition was well known, she was sensible that too great a change of measures in her would only excite suspicion, in men who knew her to be equally consummate in deceit and cruelty; the young king Charles IX. was therefore made to assume the reins of government, and to affect compassion for the huguenots, and attachment to some of their chiefs. He openly blamed the rigor of the catholics; concerted measures with the admiral for assisting the reformed in the low countries, who were then endeavouring to shake off the Spanish yoke, and seemed as determined to protect them, as the admiral, whose heart was much set upon it. The king promised to trust to him the conduct of the whole affair. Under the colour of this intended expedition, Charles strengthened his forces, and quartered them in places, where they would be nearest at hand, to prosecute his secret intentions *.

The king caresses the huguenots.

By such means carrying on an appearance of regard and esteem for the principal persons of the party near two years, he gained the confidence of the admiral de Coligny, whom he called his friend and father, the prince of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and other persons of the first

* Dav. lib. 5. p. 261. Discours Merveilleux de la Vie de C. de Medicis, p. 73. Varillas, liv. 9. p. 433.

dis-

distinction among their adherents; who took up their residence at Paris, in fancied security, under the protection of a prince who not only expressed the strongest personal regard for some of them, but to strengthen their confidence, had proposed the marriage of his sister Margaret with the young prince of Navarre*. Great preparations were made for the nuptials: The huguenot nobility, receiving pressing invitations from the king, flocked thither to do honour to their prince; and even the queen of Navarre, who had till then resisted all the queen mother's importunities, repaired to Paris on this occasion; but died soon after she arrived, at the age of 44, to the great loss of the huguenot party; which she had assisted with her fortune and her counsels, and animated by her courage; and is acknowledged, even by the catholic writers, to have united the graces of manner, purity of conduct, and knowledge of polite learning, which become her own sex, to the wisdom and intrepidity so requisite to form a perfect character in the other †.

1571.

Offers his sister in marriage to the prince of Navarre.

1572.

Queen of Navarre comes to court.

Dies.

The suddenness of her death, which was preceded by a sickness of only four days, gave rise to suspicions of its not being natural; and the horrible event which succeeded it, confirmed them: as she was the principal support of the party, it is improbable they should suffer her to live when they were endeavouring to destroy the huguenots by one blow; yet to have comprehended that queen in the general massacre, must have rendered them odious to the whole world;

* Dav. lib. 5. p. 253. Varillas, tom. ii. liv. 9. p. 393.
† Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 967. Dav. lib. 5. p. 262.

a less

a leſs evident method of procuring her death was therefore requiſite, and ſome of the beſt catholic hiſtorians acknowledge her being poiſoned as an undoubted fact *; but we are told by others, that the king having cauſed her to be opened, an abſceſs in her ſide appeared to have been the occaſion of her death †. At her deceaſe her ſon Henry aſſumed the title of king of Navarre.

August 18. Marriage of the king of Navarre with the princeſs Margaret.

On the 18th of Auguſt, 1572, the king of Navarre was married to the princeſs Margaret; though ſo contrary to her inclinations (occaſioned as was generally imagined by her love for the duke of Guiſe) that ſhe would neither ſign the marriage contract, nor ſpeak at the marriage ceremony; but the king her brother, ſtanding behind her, bent her neck, which being conſidered as bowing her head, was received by the biſhop for a token of aſſent ‡.

The great favour ſhewn the huguenots, together with the death of the queen of Navarre, excited ſuſpicions in ſome of the party; the nobility, who were at Paris, received from their diſtant friends intimations of danger, and were ſolicited to retire from court; but the great confidence the admiral, whoſe wiſdom was held in high eſteem, had placed in a king, ſkilful in diſſimulation far above what could have been expected at his years, rendered all the advice ſent them ineffectual. Langoiran, a huguenot gentleman, was more prudent; and waiting on the admiral to take his leave, that great man aſked him, why he would go from Paris?

* Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 967. Dav. lib. 5. p. 262.
† Var. tom. ii. liv. 9. p. 419. ‡ Dav. lib. 5. p. 263.

"Because," answered Langoiran, "we are too "much caressed here; and I had rather save my "life with fools, than lose it with those who "are too wise *."

ON the 22d of August, the admiral received a shot from a window as he passed through the street, which carried off one of his fingers, and wounded him in the left arm; but attributing it to the hatred of the duke of Guise, who accused him of being concerned in the assassination of his father, his confidence in the king remained unshaken; and that prince, to confirm it, expressed the most violent resentment against the assassin, causing search to be made for him; but the villain had effected his escape †.

August 22. The admiral assassinated.

CHARLES endeavoured to lull the apprehensions which this event might awaken in the breast of the admiral, and of the whole party, by the most affectionate assurances of an inviolable attachment; and so artfully deceived Monf. de Teligny, that when some of the admiral's friends earnestly solicited him to remove into the suburbs of Paris, as a less dangerous situation, Teligny answered for the king's sincerity; and added such strength to the admiral's confidence in it, that he refused to comply with their fears. The king, under a pretence of providing for that great man's security against any future attempts from the Guises, of which he expressed some apprehensions, desired him to cause his friends to lodge as near the house he lived in as

The king's dissimulation.

* Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 968.

† Dav. lib. 5. p. 265. Vie de Coligny, lib. 5. p. 396. Var. liv. 9. p. 437. Mem. de Chatillon, p. 128.

possible,

possible, that they might be ready to assist him; and placed a guard at his door, contrary to his inclination, the command of which was given to a creature of the Guises. Thus the chief persons among the huguenots, conveniently for the king's infernal purpose, were drawn together within a small compass, and more easily destroyed, than if they had been dispersed in different parts of the town.

Many writers †, with an appearance of probability, attribute the assassination of the admiral to the advice of the duke de Retz; who imagined it as a means of exciting so strong a resentment in the huguenots against the duke of Guise, on whom it would naturally be charged, that they would seek their revenge in attacking him; in defence of whom the catholics taking arms, might proceed to a general massacre of the huguenots without the appearance of a premeditated intention; thus the odium would fall on the huguenots, as being the aggressors, and their destruction be attributed to the sudden resentment of the people, whose fury, it was to be supposed, on seeing their idol the duke of Guise in danger, could not be restrained by the influence of their superiors ‡.

It was indeed highly probable that such would have been the consequence of the assassination of the admiral; but the huguenots, more patient than their enemies expected, made no attempts to revenge the injury; and although

† Hist. Gén. D'Aub. tom. ii. p. 13. Dav. l. 5. p. 265.
‡ De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 52d, p. 573. Dav. lib. 5. p. 265.

they

they might express in speech some resentment, they did not appear disposed to come to action.

Thus disappointed, the court was reduced to prosecute the detestable plan without the colour of provocation, and the 24th of August, the festival of St. Bartholomew, was fixed upon for the most horrible action ever recorded in history. To the duke of Guise was entrusted the management of the whole affair; and to gratify his private revenge, he began it a little before midnight, by causing the admiral's house to be attacked. The admiral, waked out of his sleep by the noise, threw himself out of bed, and slipping on his night-gown, bade Merlin, his minister, who lay in his room, read prayers to him; but the poor man, less intrepid than the admiral, who thought not of preserving his mortal existence, but of preparing himself for eternal life, was little able to comply; which the admiral perceiving, said to him, and other of his attendants who were in the chamber, "Save "yourselves, my friends; all is over with me; "I have long been prepared for death." All but one of them sought their safety by flight. A soldier who knew not the admiral's person entered, and asking him who he was? the admiral, who was at prayers, replied with perfect composure, "I am he whom you seek. If you "are a soldier, as you appear to be, you ought "to respect my grey heirs; but do what you "will, you can shorten my life only by a few "days." The man instantly stabbed him. All the soldiers who followed him did the same, and threw the body, covered with wounds, out at the window, where it was inhumanly mangled by

August 24. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The admiral killed.

by the bigotted populace, and his head ſent to Rome †.

The maſſacre ſoon became general in every part of the town. A gentleman of above fourſcore years old, who had the care of the young prince of Conti, was not ſpared, though his venerable grey hairs ſeemed to exhort to mercy, and ſtill more the infantine fondneſs of the prince of Conti, who hanging about his neck, endeavoured with his little hands to ward off the blows of the murderer. La Force, in bed with his two ſons, was ſlain with the eldeſt of them; while the youngeſt, only twelve years old, lying between them, and covered with their blood and his own, he being alſo wounded, appeared to be dead, and was thought ſo by all who ſaw them. In this ſituation he heard many commend the barbarity of their murderers, ſaying it was neceſſary to kill the young wolves with the old one: but he ſtill acted his part ſo well, that no one ſuppoſed him living; till in the evening, he heard a perſon who had entered the chamber, execrate the inhuman perpetrators of ſuch an action, and call on God to revenge it; he then ſtarted from under the dead bodies, and cried out to be conducted to the arſenal, which was immediately done; nor would Biron, who had the command of it, deliver him up, though he was ſeverely menaced for affording him refuge *. This La Force afterwards became a

† Vie de Coligny, liv. 5. p. 401. Dav. lib. 5. p. 268. Declaration of the furious outrages of France, with the ſlaughter of the admiral, p. 57.

* De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 52. p. 588. Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 1. p. 18.

diſtin-

distinguished commander among the huguenots, and married Biron's daughter.

THE massacre was in no place more furiously carried on than in the Louvre. Vicomte Tesan †, with his wounds bleeding, fled from his assailants into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and throwing himself on her bed, covered her with blood, and filled her with terror, as she was ignorant of what was passing ‡. The captain of the guard promised her to save his life; and having made her put on a gown, conducted her to the duchess of Lorraine's apartment. In her way thither a gentleman, mortally wounded by a soldier, fell dead at her feet. At so shocking a spectacle she fainted away. She no sooner entered the duchess of Lorraine's chamber than two of the king of Navarre's attendants rushed in, and falling at her feet besought her protection. She hastened to the king, her brother, who at her intreaty ordered that their lives should be spared *.

IN the midst of the horrible butchery, Charles caused the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé to be brought to him; and after telling them, that the severities then exercising against their party were necessary for the peace of his kingdom, and his own security; he added, that they w[illegible] exempted from the general fate by the great [illegible] [illegible]d he bore them as princes of his blood; and the hope he had that they would deserve his mercy by their fidelity to him, and the abjuration of their heresy. The king of Navarre thought proper to temporize, and gave

† Or Leran. ‡ Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 972.
* Ibid. Mem. de la reine de Nav. p. 39.

him reason to believe he would comply with what he required; but the prince of Condé answered, that "he was accountable to God alone "for his religion; that his possessions and his "life were in his majesty's power, and he "might dispose of them as he pleased; but that "no menaces, nor even certain death, should "make him renounce the truth." So bold an answer enraged the king to the most violent degree, and he swore that if the prince did not abjure in three days, he should dye. Guards were set over him and the king of Navarre; their attendants were in greatest part murdered, and persons put about them who were entirely devoted to the catholic cause †.

The king of Navarre and prince of Condé put under guard.

Some of the huguenots who were in the suburbs, taking alarm at the noise they heard, escaped; but as they passed the Seine the king himself shot at them, crying out, Kill, kill ‡. After the admiral's body had been drawn about the streets, and mangled by the populace, they hanged it by the neck on a gibbet at Montfauçon, where the king went to take a view of it; and some of those who accompanied him holding their noses, offended by the stench of the body, the king laughed at them, and said, with Vitellius, the smell of a dead enemy is always agreeable §.

Charles goes to see the admiral's dead body.

That the design of the court was [illegible]inally to attribute the massacre to the revenge they hoped the huguenots would attempt against the duke of Guise for the assassination of the admi-

† De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 52. p. 590. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 1. p. 19.

‡ Ibid. Abregé Chron. de Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1083. Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 973.

§ Ibid.

ral,

ral, appears pretty ſtrongly from the king's proceedings; who on the evening of the ſecond day, wrote with the ſame hand with which he had ſhot at the poor flying wretches, to ſeveral princes and foreign ſtates, diſclaiming his having had any ſhare in the horrors of that buſineſs, and charging it on the family of Guiſe, as the effect of their private revenge; concluding his letters with theſe words, "I am with the king of "Navarre, my brother, and my couſin the prince "of Condé; if they are in any danger I am determined to ſhare it with them ‡." He at the ſame time ordered the maſſacre to ceaſe, but was not obeyed; it continued while any huguenot, of whatever ſex or age, was to be found in Paris: the river Seine was covered with dead bodies, and the ſtreets ran with blood. The rage of bigotry is ſo early imbibed, that children of ten years old dragged babes in ſwadling-cloaths through ſtreams of blood to be ſlaughtered; and the inhuman bigots killed infants, who too young to be ſuſceptible of fear, played with their beards, as thinking them in ſport till they felt the fatal ſtroke. An uncle murdered two of his little nieces who had hidden themſelves under the bed, believing he was going to whip them †. The cruelties then committed are too many to be enumerated, and ſeveral of them too horrible to relate. Some orthodox catholics were in[illegible]ed in this deſtruction, from the intereſted views of their legal heirs, or from the reſentment of private enemies, who took advantage of this ſeaſon of confuſion. It had been

The king denies having had any previous knowledge of the maſſacre.

‡ Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1085. De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 52. p. 596. Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 1. p. 21. Declaration of the furious, &c. p. 64.

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 1. p. 22.

deliberated in council whether Biron and the Montmorencies should not be included in the massacre, as favouring the huguenots, and being at variance with the house of Guise; but as the constable was then absent from Paris, it was judged more adviseable to spare the whole family, as they could not destroy them all. Biron, governor of the arsenal, defended himself by firing cannon against his assailants *. The screams and groans of the dying, and the imprecations of the murderers, so far overcame every other sound, that in the streets people could not distinguish the voices of those who spoke.

Writers differ in their computation of the numbers killed on this occasion. De Thou speaks of 30,000, others of 70,000, and Perefixe says 100,000 †, including those who fell throughout the kingdom, in the general slaughter. Some cities were much distressed for want of water, the rivers being so stained with blood that no one could drink of them. So little prepared were the huguenots for an event of this nature, that there was but one man among so great a number of the bravest in the kingdom, and though the slaughter continued seven days, who was known to have died sword in hand; and but one house, the inhabitants of which made any resistance to those who attempted to enter it. The bigoted populace were so diligent in their search, that the number that escaped was incredibly small. Merlin, the admiral's minister, flying with Teligni, the admiral's son in law, on the approach of the murderers, in passing over the tops of houses fell into a hay-

Strange preservation of De Merlin.

* De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 53. p. 594.
† Perefixe, p. 30.

loft,

loft, and was concealed by the hay that fell upon him; he lay there three days and a half, and was preserved from being famished by a hen which had her nest close to the place where he was concealed, and came daily to lay an egg; but Teligni, a man esteemed and beloved not only by his own party but by every honest catholic, fell in the common slaughter*: an event most fortunate to him, as he thereby escaped pains far more bitter than those of death, which reflexion on his amazing infatuation, whereby the admiral was exposed to this dreadful catastrophe, must have inflicted.

Generous conduct of Des Vesins.

An officer named De Resniers was saved by Des Vesins, a catholic, who had a private quarrel with him, but was too brave to revenge himself so meanly; he conducted De Resniers therefore to a considerable distance from Paris, telling him he did not do it to save his life, but to take it honourably; and when he had got to a convenient place he challenged him to fight. But De Resniers answered, "My life is yours, and "I can no longer employ it but in your service; "give me an opportunity to do so and you will "confer an obligation equal to that I have just "received from you." "Can the huguenots "then," said Des Vesins, "be so mean as not "to resent the perfidy of the court?" "What"ever [illegible] friends may do," replied De Resniers, "[illegible]ould not I be wanting in the grati"tude I owe to you were I to resent it?" "No," replied Des Vesins, "I love courage "both in an enemy and a friend." Thus preserved, the huguenot repaired to his family,

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 1. p. 22.

where he found his wife and daughters oppressed with the bitterest affliction, lamenting his death, which they thought so certain, having heard that he had been seen in the hands of Des Vesins his private enemy, that he could not immediately convince them he was not an apparition †.

Massacre extended to the provinces.

Two days before the massacre began at Paris, orders had been sent into every province that the like barbarity should be exercised there; and in most of the great towns they were too faithfully obeyed. But Monf. d'Orte, governor of Bayonne, on receiving the order, wrote a letter to the king, acquainting him, that in all the garrison he found only brave men and good citizens, and not one hangman ‡. In another place the hangmen refused obedience, saying they were legal officers, and only executed those the law condemned. But the soldiers performed the office which the hangmen had refused.

The governors of some few places delayed the execution of the orders received, till the court relented; but this mercy was thought to have proved fatal to some of them §.

The king avows the massacre.

The king was soon brought to acknowledge that he had ordered the massacre, and even to glory in it: he went to the courts of parliament the third day, declared it was by his command, and pretended it had been done in consequence of a conspiracy formed by the admiral and his adherents against his person ‖. Processes were

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. [illegible] p. 3[illegible]. ‡ Ib. p. 28.
§ De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 52. p. 605.
‖ Dav. lib. v. p. 271. Memoires ou Oeconom. Royal, &c. par Sully, tom. i. p. 72.

com-

commenced against them, and condemnation given; which imposed on no one, as there was not the least colour for the accusation. Some of the French writers, indeed, pretend to suppose the massacre was not long premeditated, but the effect of a sudden resolution formed in consequence of the menaces uttered by some of the huguenots on account of the assassination of the admiral; but every circumstance of the affair so strongly contradicts the supposition, that one cannot but feel some surprize that they should expect to gain belief †.

After Paris had regained a less hostile appearance, the king sent for the prince of Condé, and spoke only three words to him, but with an enraged countenance that added terror to the words, which were of themselves sufficiently dreadful, Mass, Death, or the Bastile. The prince replied, "To the first I cannot consent, "the choice of the other two I commit to your "majesty ‡." But so bold a resolution did not continue long. A huguenot minister, named Rosiers, had, to save his life, outwardly embraced the catholic faith, (though as soon as he was at liberty he returned to his first profession) and being employed to convert the prince and the king of Navarre, they seized it as a plausible excuse, and abjured their former religion §.

Forced conversion of the king of Navarre and prince of Condé.

D'AUBIGNE', of whom we have too long lost sight, came to Paris a little before the massacre,

† Pere D[illegible]n. tom. v. p. 975.
‡ D'Aub. Hist. Univ. tom. ii. p. 30. De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 53. p. 63.
§ Ibid. Dav. lib. 5. p. 273. Hist. du Duc de Bouillon, liv. i. p. 319.

The occasion of D'Aubigne's escaping the massacre.

to obtain permission to lead into the service of the low countries a company he had raised*; but happening to wound an officer who attempted to arrest him, for having been second to a friend in a duel, he was obliged to fly; and meeting with Langojran, they left Paris together, three days before the fatal festival of St. Bartholomew †. On the rumour of some ill designs being entertained against the huguenots, D'Aubigné had, before he left Paris, contrived to convey the following verses of his own composition to king Charles:

Verses sent by him to the king.

L'EGYPTE fut sterile, et fut neuf ans sans eau,
Quand Buzire, incité du malheureux Thrasie,
D'offrir á Jupiter ses hostes en hosties,
Paya le Conseiller de son conseil nouveau.

SOUS Assuere aman a filé son Cordeau,
Comme l'autre fit voir á l'Egypte la Pluye:
L'Auteur de Montfaucon sa potence á bati,
Et Perille esprouva le premier son Taureau.
Sire votre France est tant seche et tant sterile,
Elle nourit prés vous mains Trasie et Perille;
Trasies en conseil, qui n'ont pas telle fin;
Ils offrent aux faux Dieux le plus cher sang de France,
Hè! punissez de feu ces Boute feux, afin
Que l'Artisan de mort en goute la science *.

HE gives us in his memoirs a strong instance on this occasion of the panic fears which will sometimes seize the bravest men. When he heard the melancholy account of what was passing at Paris, he had with him eighty of his soldiers, some of them of the most tried and

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 23.
* The Printer's preface to D'Aub. Universal History.

approved

approved courage. As they were marching, we may ſuppoſe with great dejection of ſpirits, and filled with horrid ideas ſuggeſted by the relation of the maſſacre, they heard ſome one crying out very loud at a diſtance; whereupon they all betook themſelves to flight; and running, till want of breath obliged them to ſtop, they ſtood ſtill, ſtaring at each other with ſurpriſe at their own cowardice, and ſhame at having ſo many witneſſes of it; though every ſpectator was at the ſame time companion in the panic. "Upon which," ſays D'Aubigné, "we agreed "that God does not give ſenſe and courage, he "only lends it." But they were in ſo different a ſtate of mind the following day, that with half that troop, D'Aubigné having ſent the reſt to the town of Sancerre, then beſieged by the catholics, he attacked 600 ſoldiers who were returning by the Loire from the maſſacre at Paris to Boiſgency, and killed a great number of them †.

Seized with a panic,

Bold and ſucceſsful attack on 600 ſoldiers.

The court had ſo well taken their meaſures, that during the maſſacre they had ſurprized La Charité (one of the fortified towns granted to the huguenots) but had been diſappointed in their attempts on Montauban and La Rochelle. The latter, as of moſt importance, immediately became their principal object, and they tried by the means of negotiation to prevail with the inhabitants to rec[illegible] governor and garriſon from the king. But after so deteſtable a proof of that prince's treachery, the citizens of Rochelle could not be brought to put any truſt in the faireſt offers he could make them. He then ſent to them La

The court endeavours to ſecure Rochelle.

† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 24.

Noue,

La Noue sent thither.

Noue, one of the most famous huguenot commanders, who was just returned from the war in the low countries, to persuade them to submit; having first promised him to require nothing that was derogatory to his honour. When the deputies came to confer with him, they told him, "they expected to have met La Noue, but they "did not see him; that it was to little purpose "the person to whom they spake resembled him "in features, when in character he so widely "differed from him." La Noue shewed them that he had lost an arm in their service, and did not deserve to be forgotten. They replied, "Neither had they lost the remembrance of one "of that name, their very excellent friend; "who had by his courage, experience, and con- "duct, defended their lives, and crowned him- "self with honour; and who would not for any "motive have endeavoured to deceive them by "fair promises, like the person they were then "addressing; a man resembling their old friend "in face, but totally different in mind." La Noue found himself in the most distressing of all situations, reduced to appear wanting in honour either to the king or to his own party: in this extremity his first engagements prevailed, and as his heart was with the Rochellese, he dedicated himself to their service, and was joyfully received into the town; in the defence of which he exerted himself with such ardour, that the only fault they had to lay to his cha[illegible] while he continued with them, was his hazarding his life too freely †.

His reception.

† Vie de la Noue, p. 79. De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 53. p. 656.

The town besieged.

THE catholic army immediately invested the city, and carried on the siege with vigor (though with little success) both by sea and land.

D'Aubigne enamoured of Diana Salviati.

D'AUBIGNE', during the late short peace, had found leisure to fall in love with Diana Salviati, daughter to the sieur de Talcy; and after the attack already mentioned of the troop of 600, returning from the massacre of Paris, he retired with his men into the neighbourhood of his mistress, with an intention of leading them from thence to Rochelle, as soon as he could procure means to defray the expences of his march. These not being easily found, though the society of Diana Salviati might enable him to support the disappointment with more patience than he would otherwise have done, he was lamenting his ill fortune one day to the sieur de Talcy, in not having the means of executing his design of going to Rochelle, which was then hardly pressed by the enemy. De Talcy interrupted him, saying, "the misfortune is not without remedy:" You once told me, "that the original papers "relative to the enterprize of Amboise were de-"posited with your father, and that one of those "pieces is signed with the seal of the chancellor "de l' Hospital, who now is of no use to any "party, lives retired in his house near d'Etam-"pes, and has entirely withdrawn himself from "all connection with the huguenots; if you "will give me leave to send him word that you "have such a paper, I have no doubt of pro-"curing you 10,000 crowns; but if he will not "give it to purchase his safety, I can at least "get it from those who would, with pleasure, "make use of his signature to effect his ruin."

An action which gained him her father's favour.

D'Aubigné, without returning any answer, left the room, and fetching the bag in which were all those papers, he shewed De Talcy that which he had mentioned, and then threw them into the fire in his presence. De Talcy being very angry at this proceeding, D'Aubigné replied, "I burnt them, lest they should burn me; for "possibly the temptation might at some time "have proved too strong for me."

In whatever light De Talcy looked on that action at the moment it was performed, a little reflection brought him to esteem it as he ought; and the next morning, taking the young man by the hand, he said to him, "Though you have "never declared to me the secrets of your heart, "yet I am too discerning not to have discovered "your love for my daughter. You see she is "addressed by persons much superior to you in "fortune, but the spirit and probity you shewed "yesterday, in burning those papers, pleased me "so much, that I frankly tell you, I wish you "for the husband of my Diana." D'Aubigné replied, "the action did not deserve so great a "reward, since in return for the sacrifice of a "moderate sum of money, and that to be ill-"acquired, he gave him an inestimable trea-"sure †."

A few days after he had received [illegible] agreeable a proof of De Talcy's generc[illegible], D'Aubigné made a little expedition by water, and landing near a village in Beauce, he was set upon by a man well mounted, and with difficulty reached the door of an inn, where snatching a

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 26.

sword

fword from a fervant who ftood near it, he defended himfelf fo well, that the affailant being wounded, rode off; but not without having very dangeroufly wounded D'Aubigné, who was carried into the inn, and perceiving by the countenance of the furgeon who had been fent for to attend him, that the event was doubtful, he fet out for the fieur De Talcy's, without fuffering the firft dreffings to be taken off; defirous, like a true enamorato, of dying at his miftrefs's feet. In this condition he travelled 22 leagues, without allowing himfelf any reft; by which means he loft fo much blood that he was deprived of fpeech and knowledge; but by good care was cured both of his wounds, and of the ill confequences of fo great an effufion of blood. Is dangeroufly wounded.

He was fcarcely recovered, when his relations having learnt where he had taken refuge, prevailed with the bifhop of Orleans to fend his proctor, with fix officers of juftice, to oblige De Talcy to deliver his gueft into their hands; but finding all their endeavours vain, they were reduced to defift from their attempt, though not without very fevere menaces of razing De Talcy's houfe to the ground. D'Aubigné being informed of what had paffed, mounted his horfe, and overtaking them before they had gone fix miles, by the eloquence of his piftol, made fo thorough a convert of the proctor, that he abjured for the moment all the articles of the roman catholic faith, and gave an atteftation in due form of the fieur De Talcy's proper behaviour to him.

Though D'Aubigné grieved at being deprived of the power of giving his affiftance to the Rochellefe, and gaining honour to himfelf, yet the fmiles

smiles of his mistress, and the good will of her father, had hitherto administered powerful consolation; and he in some measure lost his ardour for the war, in the pleasing expectation of an approaching marriage with his Diana. But his hopes were at once blasted; the chevalier Salviati, her uncle opposing her union with a man of a different religion from her own, had influence enough to prevent it's taking place; and perhaps D'Aubigné esteemed this separation the most cruel persecution he had ever undergone for his religion. The warmth of his temper always made him strongly affected by every vexation; and his body frequently suffered from the perturbation of his mind; on this occasion it operated so violently, that it threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; from which, however, he recovered †; and seems to have lost his love with his malady; which gives reason to believe that Diana had submitted to the separation with more ease, than he thought consistent with a tender regard for him; and the supposition is confirmed by an incident he afterwards relates, on which occasion he attributes her regret to vanity rather than to love.

Diana's uncle prevents her marriage with D'Aubigné.

1573. THE Rochellese defended themselves so well, that they tired out the patience of the king and queen mother, whose thoughts being then engrossed by the election of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland, they granted a pacification on terms tolerably advantageous to the city; one of the articles of which was, that they should receive a governor, but no garrison from the king. The cities of Nismes and Montauban

The duke of Anjou elected king of Poland.

July 11. The siege of Rochelle raised, and

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 28.

were

were the only places comprehended in this treaty †. a pacification agreed upon.

The king of Navarre lived at court in a kind of honourable imprisonment, narrowly observed by spies set upon him; wishing to be free, yet not daring to attempt to regain his liberty. The duke of Alençon, of a turbulent, ambitious, but wavering disposition, hoped to gain more consideration and advantage by embarking in the huguenot party, than he enjoyed at his brother's court.

In this view he entered into secret negotiations with the king of Navarre, who thought such an ally might be of some service to the cause, though he could not by his counsel, or his courage, add much strength to the party. Henry received his advances with pleasure, and they entered into a confederacy with the marshals Montmorency and de Cosé to escape from the court, and to put themselves at the head of the huguenots and the malecontents, a party of catholics, which now began to be so called; but their design being discovered, the marshals were 1574. committed to the Bastile, and the duke d'Alençon, and the king of Navarre, confined at Bois de Vincennes ‡; and though not very closely, yet neither of them would for some time make any strong effort to regain his liberty: but they endeavoured to attach to themselves some daring

The king of Navarre and duke of Alençon imprisoned

† Pere Dan. tom. v. p. 992. Dav. lib. 5. p. 282. De Thou, tom. iv. liv. 56. p. 795. Com. de Montluc, liv. 7. p. 595. Hist. du Duc de Bouill. liv. 1. p. 27.

‡ De Thou, tom. v. liv. 57. p. 41. Dav. lib. 5. p. 286, 288. Mem. de la reine Marguerite, p. 43.

spirits,

spirits, who would be fit for action whenever they thought proper to call upon them. In this light D'Aubigné was recommended to the king of Navarre, as one capable of the boldest enterprizes, neither to be discouraged by danger, nor disgusted by difficulties or labour. Henry was sensible that such persons were necessary to him, but being narrowly observed, he judged it more prudent that D'Aubigné should appear as standard-bearer to Mr. de Fervaques, and as his dependant, than be publickly acknowledged equery to himself †. To this D'Aubigné agreed, though his pride so little brooked a seeming dependance on any private person, that some years before Mr. de la Case having said to him with an air of importance, "I will give "you to the prince of Conde," who had taken notice of D'Aubigné, and shewn him particular favour, the youth, with more spirit than politeness or prudence, replied, "Give your dogs and "your horses; but do not pretend to give such "men as I am ‡." The king of Navarre's caution was necessary; for D'Aubigné was obnoxious to the queen mother, as appears by the treatment she gave him on meeting him in the palace, where she threatened and reproached him, and told him he would be like his father; to which he replied, "God grant it," an answer so offensive to her, that D'Aubigné, seeing her look about for a captain of her guards to secure him, none of which happened to be present, made his escape as swiftly as possible; and he was spared only by Mr. de Fervaque's swearing to the loyalty of his standard-bearer ‖.

D'Aubigné enters into the king of Navarre's service.

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 28. ‡ Ib. p. 18. ‖ Ib. p. 29.

At the time D'Aubigné entered into the king of Navarre's ſervice, the count de Montgomery was beſieged in the town of Domfront by the marſhal de Matignon; who had received in charge to inveſt any city into which the count ſhould retire; the queen mother bearing eſpecial hatred to him, from the time, that by an accident, he had killed her huſband, Henry II. in a tournament. It was well known Domfront could not hold out long; and the king of Navarre, and the huguenots in general, ardently wiſhed to ſave the count. Fervaques, from enmity to Matignon, was alſo deſirous of diſappointing his enterprize. On this occaſion Henry applied to D'Aubigné, deſiring him to accompany Fervaques at the ſiege of Domfront, in order to find an opportunity of conveying the Count ſafely out of the town. D'Aubigné refuſed to ſerve in an army that was fighting againſt perſons of his own religion; but by the arguments they uſed, they conquered his ſcruples, and he obeyed. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his ſpirit and courage on two or three occaſions, that Fervaques, who had a conſiderable poſt in the army, thought he could, with a good grace, give him the command of four companies, whoſe ſtand was near the poſtern gate, whereby the buſineſs he came about might be much facilitated. D'Aubigné, under pretence of examining the trenches, approached one of the centinels in the town, and by his means got to the ſpeech of a friend of his who was with the count, to whom he told his intention. The count met him in the ſame place the next night; and D'Aubigné offered to give him the means of eſcaping from thence; telling him that he might refreſh himſelf at Alençon, a town which the reformed had

Goes to the ſiege of Domfront.

Tries to deliver the Count de Montgomery.

juſt taken, and from thence go into Beauce, where he would find aſſiſtance to defend himſelf, and annoy the enemy; aſſuring him at the ſame time that his flight would ſave the people and garriſon in Domfront, as the ſiege was undertaken only on his account, and would be raiſed when he was no longer there.

ALL offers and ſolicitations were vain; the count invited D'Aubigné to enter into his garriſon, informing him that he expected ſuccours from Germany very ſpeedily; but could not be prevailed on to leave the town, which not long after was obliged to ſurrender †. The count was ſent to Paris, where he was firſt put to the torture, and then beheaded: but it was not till after the death of Charles IX. who died the 31ſt of May ‡, that the count of Montgomery was executed.

May 26.

May 30. Death of Charles IX.

HENRY duke of Anjou, then king of Poland, on the news of his brother's death, made his eſcape in the night from Cracow §, leſt he ſhould be ſtopt by the Poles, who did not chuſe to loſe ſo ſoon a king they had juſt elected: had he remained longer among them, they would have found ſufficient reaſons to reconcile them to his abdication.

The king of Poland makes his eſcape from Cracow.

THE prince of Condé had retired into Picardy, of which he was governor, on the impriſonment of the princes and the marſhals, and from thence fled into Germany with Mr. de Thoré,

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. p. 125, and 126.
‡ Varillas, tom. ii. p. 622.
§ Dav. lib. 6. p. 301. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1104.

brother

brother to the marſhals of Montmorency and D'Amville, and with other perſons of diſtinction. The prince, in conjunction with the marſhal D'Amville, wrote to the reformed churches, and aſſured them of his beſt ſervices, and the ſtrongeſt attachment to their intereſts; in conſequence of which he was choſen by them their chief, their general, governor, and protector, and the marſhall D'Amville was declared commander in Languedoc †.

June 18. The prince of Condé flies into Germany.

Declared chief of the huguenots.

The new king, Henry III. entering into France with a determination to exterminate the huguenots, diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner as to attack them in ſeveral places at the ſame time; but he found them by their junction with the male-contents, at the head of which were the marſhal D'Amville and Mr. de Thoré, and the aſſiſtance promiſed them by the elector Palatin, and ſome other proteſtant ſtates in Germany, become ſo formidable, as to leave him little hope of ſucceſs.

As ſoon as he arrived at Paris, he gave a nominal liberty to the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre; but they were ſo diligently watched, that in fact they were ſtill priſoners. A conſpiracy was diſcovered among the male-contents against the king's life, with an intent to place the duke of Alençon on the throne; and it appeared that it had been mentioned to the duke, but that he had given no anſwer to the conſpirators. The Sieur de Fervaques, though much attached to him, had diſcovered it to the king, in expectation, as he himſelf declared, that the

Henry III. arrives at Paris.

1575.

† Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 4.

merit of such a service would secure his being made a marshal of France. The king forgave the duke, on his suing for pardon; but retained so strong a hatred to him, that he endeavoured to prevail on the king of Navarre to kill him; representing how much it was for the interest of that prince, to remove out of the way the only person who could stand between him and the throne, if he (the king) should die without issue; but such a crime was contrary to the noble and generous nature of Henry; and he absolutely refused it †.

Sept. 16. The duke of Alençon makes his escape: is joined by the huguenots.

NOTWITHSTANDING the precautions used to prevent the duke of Alençon, and the king of Navarre from making their escape, the former effected it ‡; and was soon joined by a great number both huguenots and male-contents; and the Germans thereupon quickened their march into France. The king got together as good an army as the time, and dispersion of his forces would permit, and sent them into Champagne. Almost all the young noblemen of the court enlisted in that army, and among them those most attached to the king of Navarre, who found it necessary to act the part of an obedient subject. The command was given to the duke of Guise; Fervaques had a considerable post, and D'Aubigné attended him as his standard-bearer. The king of Navarre's guards marched before the rest, and took the town of Archecour by storm; and though D'Aubigné disliked the service he was in, yet his natural courage so far conquered his reluc-

D'Aubigné serves in the king's army.

† Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 25.

‡ De Thou, tom. v. liv. 61. p. 215. Mem. de la reine Marg. p. 71.

tance,

tançe, that he was the firſt who entered the place: he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſkirmiſh at Pont d'Aſne, and was one of the foremoſt in the battle of Dormans; where he took priſoner a gentleman of Champagne, who offered him a conſiderable ranſom, and his horſe; but though D'Aubigné's own horſe was wounded in the battle, he refuſed the offer, and freely gave that gentleman his liberty, repeating to him a verſe out of the Pſalms, "Woe is me that I am conſtrained to dwell with Meſech, and to have my habitation among the tents of Kedar †."

After this battle the duke of Guiſe, in purſuit of a flying ſoldier, got a wound in his cheek, from which he received the ſurname of Balafré. During this campaign D'Aubigné grew into great favour with the duke of Guiſe, who was equally pleaſed with his valour in time of danger, and his wit and vivacity in familiar converſation; and as the war was ſuſpended by a truce, negotiated between the queen mother and the marſhal de Montmorency (who with the marſhal de Coſſé had been ſet at liberty on condition that they would join their endeavours with hers) on one ſide, and the duke of Alençon on the other; the duke of Guiſe, as well as the king of Navarre's guards, returned to Paris; where D'Aubigné continued in the duke's favour. This circumſtance occaſioned a very intimate connexion between the duke and the king of Navarre, who frequently eat at the ſame table, lay in the ſame bed, and gave balls, maſquerades and other entertainments in conjunction; which were all invented and regulated by

A truce agreed.

D'Aubigné returns to court.

Is in great favour with the duke of Guiſe.

† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 30.

 D'Aubigné;

D'Aubigné; a talent more likely to recommend him at a gay and gallant court, than any of the virtues he possessed. He accompanied the duke in all tilts and tournaments, and every kind of martial exercise; and was one of the king of Navarre's academy, a small society to which he gave that appellation, who met twice every week in his apartment to converse on literary subjects. D'Aubigné was well qualified for conversations of that kind, as his learning, his strength and acuteness of understanding, enabled him to enter into the nicest disquisitions, and his wit and vivacity gave him a power of enlivening discourse, when from the seriousness of the subject it became dull to the king of Navarre, who had little inclination for literary studies. D'Aubigné's wit caused him to be more sought after than beloved; for it was of so satirical a turn, that it made some caress him out of fear, who possibly in their hearts hated him; and even those who were pleased with the jest, did not love the man that made it.

In many respects D'Aubigné was ill qualified for a court where Catherine of Medicis presided; frank and open in speech himself, he detested art and deceit in others; regular and virtuous in his conduct, his manners were a tacit reproach to the licentious; a zealous huguenot in heart, and such a bungler in dissimulation, that he was little able to conceal his opinions, and absolutely incapable of assuming the appearance of a good catholic, which too many did without scruple. He does not even seem to have given any attention to the measures necessary to elude the observation of bigots, as may be gathered from a blunder he committed.

The queen mother had complained to the king of Navarre that ſome of his attendants did not appear at church; as Henry was playing at tennis with the princes, on Eaſter-Tueſday, ſeeing D'Aubigné, to whom he knew the queen principally alluded, he called to him, and aſked if he had performed his Eaſter devotions? to which D'Aubigné only replied, "How can you doubt it, ſire?" "On what day?" ſaid the king. "Laſt Friday;" anſwered D'Aubigné; not recollecting that it was the only day in the year on which maſs was not ſaid, nor the communion adminiſtered. The duke of Guiſe cried out, "Oh! D'Aubigné! you have but ill "learnt your leſſon." Upon which all the company laughed very heartily, except the queen, who from that time had him very narrowly watched, her majeſty keeping a conſiderable number of ſpies in conſtant pay, to be ready for every occaſion ſhe had for them; and it was owing to the duke of Guiſe's protection, that he was ſuffered to remain ſo long at court *.

THERE ſtill exiſted at that time among the French a kind of ferocious valour, which rendered duels, or combats of a few perſons on each ſide, not only frequent, but honourable. This we may conſider as the dregs of chivalry, much of which remained till the death of Francis I. but was now ſunk into a mere ſpirit of duelling; which D'Aubigné poſſeſſed in a high degree, notwithſtanding his exact probity, and his religious principles. So much can the miſt of prejudice blind, or the ſplendid glare of falſe honour dazzle the eyes of the rational and diſcerning,

Is much addicted to duelling.

* Ibid. p. 33.

that we find him, in his own account of himſelf, performing his devotions with the greateſt ſeriouſneſs, as a prelude to murders thus ſanctified by cuſtom, and honoured by prejudice. The frequent encounters of this kind wherein he was engaged, the courage and dexterity with which he acquitted himſelf in them, and the great ſucceſs he had in ſome wild enterprizes, where his opponents far exceeded him in numbers, gained him great conſideration among the men of ſpirit of that age; and procured him ſtill more favour from the duke of Guiſe, than his ingenious and fertile invention in planning ſports and entertainments, and compoſing poetical pieces to be repreſented in them.

Diana Salviati dies of vexation.

AMONG the entertainments exhibited by thoſe princes, one proved fatal to Diana de Talcy, D'Aubigné's firſt miſtreſs; who ſeeing him diſtinguiſh himſelf very much in a tournament with the king of Navarre, and the dukes of Lorraine and Guiſe, and perceiving him favoured to a great degree by the firſt men in the kingdom, was ſo mortified at the inequality between the man ſhe was going to marry, and him whom ſhe had refuſed, that ſhe was ſeized with a dejection of ſpirits, which affected her health in ſuch a manner, that ſhe died in a ſhort time after *. But whatever pleaſures D'Aubigné might receive from the diſtinctions ſhewn him, they were not unmixed with mortifications.

THE Sieur de Fervaques had hitherto been a friend to D'Aubigné; and while he attacked them only with ſome ſtrokes of wit and ſatire,

* Ibid, p. 32.

the

the ladies of the court chose to keep well with him. The first that had felt the force of his raillery were three of the queen's maids of honour, whose ages united amounted at least to 140 years. When he first appeared at court, perceiving him new to the place, and desirous of diverting themselves with his embarassment, one of them attacked him by asking, "What "are you contemplating so seriously, sir?" "The antiquities of the court, madam," replied D'Aubigné. Though such kind of jests are not often very well received, yet D'Aubigné might have escaped with only being in his turn sometimes the subject of satire: but leaving the strain of wit, he took upon him the adviser, and made strong and serious remonstrances to madame de Carnavalet on the intrigue she was engaged in with Fervaques; which was according to the canon laws, the more reprehensible on account of the near kindred subsisting between them, they being first cousins. The lady was so extremely offended by his remonstrance, that she complained to Fervaques, who promised to punish the insolence with death; and accordingly endeavoured to engage D'Aubigné in a quarrel with one of the queen mother's spies; which he trusted would be a means of keeping his word with his mistress, without hazarding his own life; a scheme founded in prudence not cowardice, for he always boldly exposed it in battle: but the duke of Guise prevented the success of his views.

D'Aubigné offends Fervaques.

Fervaques thus disappointed, determined to perform his promise to the lady with his own hand; accordingly, he called on D'Aubigné a few days after, and pretending to be in the utmost despair, desired him to walk a little way with

with him; but would not suffer him to take a dagger that his servant brought him, on seeing he was going out; which inclined D'Aubigné to suspect him of some bad design. As they were passing over a little bridge, Fervaques told him, that, being oppressed with vexation, he was determined to put an end to his life; that he regretted nothing but leaving of him; and desired one kind embrace, and then he should die contented. "Sir, said D'Aubigné, retiring a little, "I have formerly heard you declare, that the "greatest satisfaction you could have in death, "would be by the help of a good poniard, to "carry your best friend into the next world with "you. I would advise you not to quarrel with "life, having no tolerable reason for doing so; "but however you may determine on that point, "a truce with your embraces at present." On receiving this answer, Fervaques, drawing both his sword and dagger, ran enraged at D'Aubigné, and with an oath cried out, "Since you suspect "me, we will both die." D'Aubigné drawing back a few paces, and putting himself on his guard, answered, "No, it shall be only you, if "I can help it." Fervaques seeing him prepare so resolutely to defend himself, threw down his sword and poniard; fell on his knees, and pretending to be out of his senses, desired D'Aubigné to kill him; but he not chusing the office, they separated; and returned home by different ways.

Who attempts to kill him.

They were some time after reconciled; but the reconciliation proved more dangerous than their contest, for Fervaques caused some poison to be put into D'Aubigné's soup, which affected him very violently, and made his hair and skin come

come off; yet he was ignorant of the caufe till long after; when the phyfician who attended him at the time, informed him of it, adding, that Fervaques had threatened to ftab him if he acquainted his patient that he had been poifoned †.

In the midft of the amufements of the court, wherein the king of Navarre had fo great a fhare, he could not be infenfible to the many difagreeable circumftances attending his fituation. No perfon of confequence of his own party was fuffered to approach him. His guards were all bigoted catholics, many of them the moft active in the maffacre of St. Bartholomew; his chamber and antichamber were filled with the queen's fpies, who had in charge to watch vigilantly to prevent his making his efcape. The chief perfons near him, who were really devoted to his interefts, were D'Aubigné, his equerry, and Armagnac, his firft valet-de-chambre; they, as the former expreffes it, being concealed under their infignificance; which however was fcarcely fufficient for D'Aubigné, who was frequently in danger of ill-treatment from the queen mother; particularly one day, when having juft left the king of Navarre amufing himfelf with flying a merlin at fome quails, he met her majefty, who afking him how his mafter was paffing his time? "In flying," he replied. The found of that word alarmed the queen; the captain of the guard was called to examine into the affair; and when fhe found D'Aubigné had only played on her fears, fearch was made for him; and he would have paid dearly for diverting himfelf at

† Ibid. p. 36.

her

her majesty's expence, had not the duke of Guise's intercession obtained his pardon *.

Nor was the queen's care only confined to the security of the king of Navarre's person; she endeavoured by the allurements of love and ambition to enslave his mind, engaging him in a succession of amours, well knowing his weakness in regard to women; and flattering him with the hopes of being made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. So successfully did she play on these two ruling passions, that whenever a new mistress came in the way, or the proposal of the lieutenancy was renewed, he gave up any design he had formed of flying from the court. His two faithful servants, wearied with seeing all their views repeatedly frustrated, at length agreed to leave him, whom they had no longer hopes of serving, and repair to the huguenots, who were in arms in several parts of the kingdom; when one night as they were watching by their master, at that time in a fit of the ague, hearing him sigh, they listened attentively, and could distinguish that he was repeating that verse of the 88th psalm, which laments the absence of faithful friends †.

D'Aubigné's persuasions to the king of Navarre to fly from court.

Armagnac observed to D'Aubigné that this was a proper season to endeavour to prevail with him to attempt regaining his liberty; D'Aubigné, not backward in taking his advice, drew open the curtain, and thus addressed the king: "Sire, is it "then true, that the grace of God still dwells and "operates in your heart? You pour forth sighs "to God on account of the distance kept by

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 2. p. 184.
† Ibid. p. 185.

"your

"your faithful friends and servants; they at the
"same time are lamenting your absence, and
"endeavouring to set you at liberty; but you
"have only tears in your eyes, while they have
"weapons in their hands; they *fight* the enemies
"that you *serve*; they excite the fears of those
"whom, seduced by vain hopes, you court;
"they fear only God, you fear a woman, before
"whom you join your hands in supplication,
"while your friends grasp their swords; they
"are armed and well mounted; you are on your
"knees: they oblige their enemies to sue to
"them for peace; but you, having no share in
"the war, have no part in the advantages granted
"in a pacification. The duke of Alençon com-
"mands those men who defended you in your
"cradle, and who cannot fight with pleasure
"under the banners of a man whose religion is
"opposite to theirs. What strange infatuation
"can make you chuse to be a slave here, rather
"than be the commander of a brave soldiery
"with them? To be the scorn of the scorned,
"when you might be the chief of a party so
"formidable? Are you not weary of being thus
"concealed behind your outward appearance?
"and can obscurity be excusable in a person of
"your birth? You are guilty of your own de-
"gradation, and of the offences committed
"against you. Those who executed the mas-
"sacre of St. Bartholomew remember it well,
"and cannot believe that those who suffered it
"will ever forget it. But still, if a shameful
"conduct were the road to safety, something
"might be said; but you can no where meet
"with so many dangers as threaten you at court.
"As for myself, and my companion here, we
"were concerting measures for making our

"escape tomorrow, when your sighs interrupted "us. Consider, Sire, that when we are gone, "the persons who attend you will not dare to "refuse to employ poison or poniard at the "command of your enemies." They proceeded then to represent to their prince the offence he had given the king of France, by the free manner in which he had spoken of him to his favourite ladies, who artfully put him on the subject that they might gain something to report; which never lost any of its bitterness by their repetition; and informed him that the promise of the lieutenancy of the kingdom was now turned into a jest at court; and served there as a subject for laughter.

THIS spirited address was afterwards strengthened by the queen of Navarre; who reported some violent expressions used by the king of France against him; which intelligence was corroborated by her physician, who told him that he had been desired by the king to poison him; at the same time insinuating, that the title of protector of the churches, did not properly belong to the duke of Alençon.

FERVAQUES, disgusted by a refusal of the government of Normandy, which he had solicited, and the sieur de Laverdin, offended by a disappointment of the same kind, proposed, the former to D'Aubigné, the latter to Roquelaure, a servant to the king of Navarre, to persuade their master to make his escape from the court †. In a conference they had on this subject, the king of Navarre asking D'Aubigné for his new year's gift, as then was the custom in France, D'Aubigné

† Ibid. p. 186.

gave him a nosegay composed of Olive, Laurel, and Cypress, with the following verses explaining the device: D'Aubigné's new year's gift to Henry.

J'estrenerai mon Roi de trois sortes de vers,
Un pale, un vif, un brun; nul des trois ne s'etonne;
Mais plus doux & plus fort, & plus beau rebourgeonne
Au vent & au soleil, & aux froids des Hyvers.
Moins que ce verd encore se fletiront mes vers,
Pour un Roi, qui de paix ses sujets environne;
Qui Vainqueur establit par le fer sa Couronne,
Ou qui avec l'etat met sa vie a l'envers.
Sage, brave, constant: mon Prince, fai ton conte
De regner, vivre, ou bien ne survivre a ta honte.
Si tu donne la Paix, Je te donne l'Olive;
Si tu vaincs, sachez que le Laurier vient apres;
Si tu meurs, le Ciprés couronne l'ame vive;
Si non rend tous Olive, & Laurier, & Ciprés †.

In these verses D'Aubigné had in view the device worn, according to the custom of those times, by the deceased Jane queen of Navarre; chosen by her with reference to the situation of her affairs, and to which she had annexed this motto:

Safe Peace, Victory, or honourable Death.

Advice thus reiterated, at length prevailed, and the 18th of February was the day fixed upon for the king of Navarre's flight. It was settled that Laverdin should seize Mans; Roquelaure Chartres, and D'Aubigné Cherbourg. Before they parted, they took an oath not to relinquish the enterprize, whether allured by caresses, or alarmed by menaces; and to be at eternal enmity with whoever should betray their purpose. It was agreed, that to facilitate the 1576.

† Printer's Preface to D'Aubigné's Hist. Universelle.

ex-

execution of their enterprize, the king of Navarre ſhould appear well convinced that the lieutenancy of the kingdom would ſoon be given him; and while he thus lulled the court in fancied ſecurity, he ſhould extend the liberty of hunting (in which he had been indulged) as far as the foreſt of St. Germain.

THE next morning, at the break of day, he went into the duke of Guiſe's chamber, and finding he was not riſen, got into the bed to him, for the better convenience of familiar and confidential converſation. He took occaſion to talk of his approaching preferment; boaſting of the great actions he would perform; which he did with ſuch appearance of frankneſs and vanity, that the duke of Guiſe, thoroughly deceived, went, as ſoon as he was up, to divert the king, with the king of Navarre's credulity and conceit. This morning viſit proved very uſeful; for it became afterwards known, that the court had determined to deprive him of the liberty of hunting at ſo great a diſtance; till believing him the willing captive of this flattering expectation, they thought any additional reſtraint unneceſſary. Thus deceived, they ſuffered him to go to St. Germains on his hunting party, guarded by monſieur de Saint Martin, maſter of the wardrobe, and monſieur de Spalonge, lieutenant of the guards; nor did any of thoſe who were acquainted with his ſecret intentions attend him, except Armagnac*, as he did not deſign to put them ſo ſoon in execution.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 2. p. 187. Dav. lib. 6. p. 316. Mem. de la reine Marguerite, p. 74. Oecon. roy. de Sully, tom. i. p. 90.

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In the evening D'Aubigné went to the king of France's Coucheé, where he perceived the ſieur de Fervaques whiſpering to him, and his majeſty uncommonly attentive to his diſcourſe; which excited ſuch ſuſpicions in D'Aubigné, as made him glad to retire without being obſerved, apprehending that if he were perceived he ſhould be ſeized; and they were ſo very earneſt in diſcourſe that he ſucceeded. He went not far from the caſtle gate, but walked by moon light till two o'clock in the morning; when Fervaques coming out of the caſtle, he caught him ſuddenly by the arm, crying out, Wretch, what have you been doing? Fervaques thus taken by ſurprize, had not ſufficient preſence of mind to deny that he had betrayed the king of Navarre; but excuſing his treachery on the obligations he had to the king, and that he received greater favors from him than he could expect from any other, added, "Go and ſave your maſter."

D'Aubigne' immediately haſtened to the king of Navarre's ſtable; where, with a view to what might happen, the equerries had for ſome time kept their horſes in breath, by galloping them in a covered courſe. While they were preparing their horſes, the provoſt des marchands, for whom the king had ſent, with an intention of charging him to guard well the city gates, and ſuffer no one to go out, paſſed by them; but before the order could be executed, the equerries had got out of the town, and proceeded with all ſpeed towards Senlis.

The king of Navarre returning from the chace, which he had purſued from break of day, and ſeeing his horſes in the ſuburbs of the town of

of Senlis, where they had received ſome reſt and refreſhment, he aſked what was the matter? "Sire, (anſwered D'Aubigné) the king is informed of our whole deſign by Fervaques, "who has confeſſed to me his treachery. Death "and ſhame lie in the road to Paris; every "other place offers you life and glory. Sedan, "or Alençon, will afford you the moſt commodious refuge. It is time to withdraw from "the hands of your gaolers, and to throw yourſelf into the arms of your true friends and "faithful ſervants." "Fewer motives would "ſuffice," replied the prince. Some of his attendants would have killed his two guards, to deliver him from any impediment they might give to his flight, but he would not ſuffer them. He called St. Martin, and telling him that Roquelaure was come to inform him that certain reports prevailed at court to his diſadvantage, accuſing him of a deſign of going to join the duke of Alençon; he therefore deſired he would go to the king, and learn whether his majeſty choſe that he ſhould return to court to diſprove the accuſation, or continue his hunting.

February.

The king of Navarre's flight.

When he had ſent off St. Martin, he made a feint of intending to paſs the night at Senlis. He then went to a play, which ſome comedians who were paſſing through the town, and had been perſuaded by his equerries to exhibit one of their pieces, were preparing to act. After having for ſome time appeared to give an eaſy attention to the performance, he called monſieur de Spalonge, and pretending to recollect that the king was to go to Beauvois-Nangi, which he had forgotten when he ſent off St. Martin, he diſpatched him

him another road, as the moſt likely to meet with his majeſty *.

HAVING thus removed his ſpies, he ſelected a few of the gentlemen who were of his hunting party, and on whom he believed he might rely; and with no ſmall difficulty, from the coldneſs and darkneſs of the night, and the foreſts they had to paſs through, they reached Alençon on the evening of the following day, before the court had received any certain intelligence of their flight. In this journey the king of Navarre would have been wounded, if not killed, by an old woman with a hedging bill, who took him for a thief, and was going to ſtrike him, when he little expecting it, was not prepared to avoid the blow, had not D'Aubigné ſeen her and prevented it †.

As they approached a village in their road, the gentleman to whom it belonged came out to meet them, with an intention to prevail on them to paſs another way, leſt they ſhould offer ſome outrage to the villagers. Roquelaure being the beſt dreſſed perſon in the company, the gentleman addreſſed him as the chief; and intreated him not to fix his quarters in the village; a favor very readily granted by thoſe who were in too much haſte to retard their eſcape by unneceſſary delay; but to prevent his remaining on the ſpot to give any information, if they were purſued, they required him to guide them to Chateauneuf, as the condition of their compliance with his requeſt. As they rode along, miſtaking the king

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. p. 188.
† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 37.

of Navarre for an inferior person in the company, he entered into easy conversation with him, and talked very freely of the amours of the court, which were well known by common fame throughout the kingdom; and expatiated particularly on those of the princesses, among whom the queen of Navarre's bore the greatest share, relating some of her gallantries of so ridiculous a nature, that the king was obliged to join in the general laugh they excited. When they arrived at Chateauneuf, by the command given to the officer to open the gates to the king of Navarre, the loquacious gentleman discovered, to his infinite terror, the person he had been entertaining so improperly; nor could any thing quiet his fears, but D'Aubigné's informing him of an indirect way whereby he might return home, which led him so great a circuit, that he travelled three days before he reached his own house. Soon after Henry's arrival at Alençon, 250 gentlemen repaired to him; and among the rest Fervaques; who from some intelligence he had received, found it safer to trust to the generosity of the prince he had injured, than to him whom he meant to serve. In an hour or two after Fervaques had left the king, the night he had betrayed the king of Navarre's intentions, the famous Grillon came to his house, and calling him to the window, told him, that as soon as he retired, the king said to those about him, among whom Grillon was, "Observe the traitor, he "first inspired my brother in law with the desire "of escaping from us, and has suggested to "him a thousand evil designs beside, and now "comes to acquaint me with it, in order to "betray us both. I will have him hanged; he "is not worthy to be beheaded. It behoves "you,

"you, therefore," added Grillon, "to take care "of yourfelf; for my part I do not chufe to be "feen here; but do not ruin me for having "given you fo ftrong a proof of my friendfhip."

FERVAQUES was not flow in taking advantage of this information: he fled directly from Paris, and as foon as he found himfelf beyond the danger of a purfuit, he wrote to the queen mother, telling her that though he was well informed they had determined to repay his fidelity with the death only due to a traitor, yet he would ftill perfevere in his duty; and did not doubt but by repairing to the fugitive prince, he fhould be of more ufe to his majefty's fervice than his two beft regiments of horfe.

WHEN he came to the king of Navarre, D'Aubigné accufed him of treachery from his own confeffion; but he pleaded in his defence that madame Carnavalet having firft difcovered the whole affair to the king, prevailed on him to confirm the account, which he did, as confcious that when once known the farther confirmation was of no confequence. Thus apologizing for one act of treachery by the confeffion of another, fince he was by his honour and his oath equally bound to difclofe it to no one. But the king of Navarre, either actuated by the uncommon generofity and benignity of his nature, or induced by a confcioufnefs of his own weaknefs towards the fex, to be indulgent to the frailty of another, accepted his excufe, and fent him to the duke of Alençon *.

* Ibid. p. 189.

After paſſing ſome time at Alençon, the king of Navarre proceeded to Tours, where he abjured the Roman catholic faith, and returned to the reformed church; which he had forborne till then, to avoid giving cauſe of diſcontent to the catholics in his party. The male-contents and the reformed, with the junction of prince Caſimir at the head of his Germans, formed a conſiderable army, but the queen mother prevented their reaping much benefit from it, by her uſual negotiations. In the month of May a treaty of pacification was concluded, whereby a free exerciſe of their religion, a ſhare in civil offices, and ſeveral fortified places were granted to the huguenots. The defamatory ſentences pronounced againſt the admiral de Coligny, and ſeveral others of the party, in conſequence of proceſſes carried on after their deaths, were annulled; and the duke of Alençon, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, declared good and loyal ſubjects, who had taken up arms only with a view to ſerve their king and country. The King of France alſo engaged to pay prince Caſimir's troops, and to give him ſome great private advantages for his own emolument. By ſome ſecret articles of the treaty, the duchies of Anjou, Touraine, Berri, and the county of Maine, were ceded to the duke of Alençon; and the government of Picardy was to be reſtored to the prince of Condé †.

The king of Navarre abjures the Romiſh faith.

May.

Peace concluded.

The terms of this treaty ſatisfied every wiſh of the huguenots; but the delay of execution

† Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 39. Dav. lib. 6. p. 319. D'Aubigne, Hiſt. Univ. tom. ii. liv. 2. p. 215. Oecon. Roy. de Sully, tom. i. p. 103.

excited

excited their apprehenſions, and ſome months paſt in vainly ſoliciting the ratification of the edict. During this time the king of Navarre, whoſe extreme weakneſs towards the other ſex caſt a ſhade over his character, ſometimes interrupting his heroic actions, at others perverting the courſe of his virtues, was captivated by the charms of Mad. de Tignonville; but finding her little inclined to liſten to addreſſes that diſhonoured her, he endeavoured to prevail with D'Aubigné to undertake his cauſe; believing him well qualified, by his wit and addreſs, to conquer any ſcruples that he would oppoſe: but he found his friend at leaſt as ſcrupulous as his miſtreſs. He could not be perſuaded that the rank of his employer could dignify ſo mean an office; and he conſtantly refuſed taking any part in the intrigue, though the king attacked him by the moſt flattering promiſes, the moſt friendly careſſes; and even deſcended ſo far from his dignity as frequently to beg on his knees, that he would aſſiſt him in an affair he had ſo much at heart. But all proving ineffectual; as he had found that when a woman has forfeited her reputation, her virtue is too apt to follow it, he thought the ſame proceſs might ſucceed with his own ſex; and believing D'Aubigné's pride was the only cauſe of his reſiſtance, he endeavoured to make him paſs for the confident and pandar of his amours. D'Aubigné having one night, in company with others, attended him to a place of aſſignation, they were attacked by ſome diſorderly perſons; whereupon D'Aubigné, more laviſh of his life than of his honour, ſtepped between him and danger, and defended his prince's perſon at the hazard of his own. This action the king, with

The treatment D'Aubigné receives from the king of Navarre.

praiſe and gratitude, related to the reformed miniſters, and the principal perſons of the party then at court; but in reality with a deſign of making them believe that however ſcrupulous D'Aubigné might be in an intrigue publickly avowed and carried on, yet he was as complying as others in *his more* private amours, where he thought his intervention would not come to the general knowledge of the court *.

But D'Aubigné, who always acted on fixed and ſtrong principles, could not be prevailed on by ſuch inſidious artifices: nor by his maſter's attempts to diſtreſs his circumſtances by retrenching his ſalary, and obliging him at the ſame time to an increaſe of expence. He well knew how to ſupport poverty, but was incapable of enriching himſelf by mean practices.

As Henry wiſhed by any method to reduce him to ſtand in ſuch need of his protection that he would purchaſe it by aſſiſting in his amour, he entered into the quarrel between him and Monſ. de Fervaques, which ſtill ſubſiſted, that gentleman continuing his attempts on D'Aubigné's life. Accordingly the king ſaid to D'Aubigné, in the preſence of many perſons, "Fervaques declares he was not guilty of the "treachery you impute to him, and is ready "to juſtify himſelf by his ſword." "Sire," replied D'Aubigné, "he could not have ſent "me a challenge by a more honourable meſſen-"ger; and as I have been his ſtandard bearer, "I will ſhew the reſpect due to a ſuperior by "pulling off my hat to him before I take my

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 39. and p. 43.

"ſword in my hand." As the king found this appearance of partiality was ineffectual, and had no intention of ſuffering them to fight, he was very earneſt to reconcile them; but D'Aubigné reminded him of the oath they had taken when the plan for his majeſty's eſcape from court was agreed upon; whereby they all engaged never to forgive the man that ſhould betray them. Monſ. de Fervaques' reſentment rather increaſed than abated, by frequent diſappointment in his deſigns, and he one night employed a young gentleman of Burgundy to lay in wait for D'Aubigné at the corner of a ſtreet; but the latter perceiving him, caught him ſo ſuddenly by the collar, that he took his piſtol from him before he could diſcharge it; and as the young man had formerly been his companion in the war, and aſſured him that Fervaques, who was too powerful for him to reſiſt, had forced him to that action, D'Aubigné forgave him; and he promiſed he would acquaint him with any treachery that ſhould be hereafter undertaken againſt him.

Mr. De Fervaques' reſentment was however rendered ineffectual by Monſ. de la Boulaie, le Baron de St. Gelais, and ſome other of D'Aubigné's friends, who waited in the king's antichamber every night to eſcort him home. Fervaques then determined to withdraw himſelf from the king of Navarre's court; but before his departure, D'Aubigné having been told by an attendant on the princeſs Catherine (ſiſter to the king) that Fervaques had lamented his ill conduct towards his old friend, and expreſſed a deſire to aſk his pardon before he left the place; D'Aubigné's generous nature led him

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to make advances to a repentant friend; and he hastened to his apartment: but as he went up the stairs he was met by a gentleman who stopped his course, by informing him that it was only a stratagem of Fervaques' to procure an opportunity of killing him before his departure *.

PUBLIC concerns soon turned the thoughts of all the huguenots from those private affairs; quarrels subsided, and love intrigues were suspended, by the impossibility they found of getting the edict of pacification put in execution; their frequent applications, their reiterated remonstrances were ineffectual; and they experienced that the most flattering concessions cost nothing to a court guided by Catherine de Medicis, who was as ready to deceive as the huguenots were to be deceived; and whatever hatred her constant dissimulation may excite, it cannot create greater wonder than the persevering credulity of the adverse party.

BUT on this occasion the court had more to plead in its excuse, than in any other instance where the terms of pacification had been equally violated. The catholics had taken alarm at the
1577. concessions so liberally made to the huguenots; and their bigotry being wrought upon by those who from political views were discontented with
Commencement of the league. the administration, they united in a confederacy called the holy league; the general terms of which expressed only a firm engagement among themselves to defend the state and catholic church against every opponent; but the secret

* Ibid. p. 41.

views

views of the principal perſons of the party extended much farther. Many of them intimately connected with, and firmly attached to the duke of Guiſe, wiſhed to place him on the throne of France, to which he pretended as a deſcendant from Charlemagne; while the family of Valois who occupied it, derived their origin from Hugues Capet, an uſurper.

THIS renowned confederacy began immediately on the treaty of pacification granted to the huguenots; but appeared at firſt only in private aſſociations, entered into by the catholics in ſeveral towns and provinces, of which Peronne, the capital of Picardy, was the firſt; but they ſoon became univerſal; and almoſt the whole kingdom united in one general league. Even the king ſigned it, though not ignorant of its dangerous tendency; but with a view of preventing the duke of Guiſe from being the chief, by becoming ſo himſelf *.

The king ſigns it.

THE king of Spain was applied to for his concurrence in this *ſacred* engagement; to which he readily agreed; it being much his intereſt to deprive the huguenots of the power of aſſiſting the reformed of the low countries, who were at that time endeavouring to ſhake off his yoke. This formidable confederacy would have prevented the court from keeping faith with the huguenots, had it been ſo diſpoſed. In the latter end of November, the preceeding year, the eſtates, then aſſembled at Blois, requeſted his

* L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 172. Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1125. Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 55. Cayet, tom. i. p. 2.

majeſty

majesty to forbid the exercise of any religion but the catholic, throughout his dominions; and to command all the huguenot clergy to depart the kingdom. The huguenot chiefs had refused to attend the estates, or to acknowledge them as a free assembly, 10,000 soldiers being quartered in Blois, and the adjacent parts; contrary to the promise given by the court when the treaty of pacification was agreed upon, and the estates summoned †. Deputies were sent to negotiate with the king of *Navarre*, the *Prince* of *Condé*, and the marshal D'Amville, to invite them to concur in the resolution of the estates ‡; while those princes offered on their side to relinquish some of the advantages *granted* to their party by the treaty, on condition that the court should abstain from such violent measures.

During the course of negociations from which no one expected to receive much benefit, both sides prepared for war; endeavouring to encrease their forces, and to seize such towns as they could get into their hands by stratagem; avoiding as much as possible any open attack.

The king of Navarre, sensible that D'Aubigné was more inclined to engage in military, or political intrigues, than in those of love, sent him into the provinces of Guienne, Picardy, Saintonge, Angoumois, Aunix, Poictou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, le Perche, Beauce, d'Isle de France, Normandy, and Artois, to examine into the state and dispositions of the huguenots

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 3. p. 238.
‡ Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 53. Hist. du Duc de Bouill. liv. 2. p. 79.

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in those provinces; and to order the leaders to draw their men together; that they might, when occasion called for it, more easily assemble an army. He was likewise commissioned to get, if possible, an opportunity of speaking in private to the duke of Anjou and marshal de Cossé. The undertaking was somewhat hazardous, as he was well known to have urged the king of Navarre to make his escape from the court, and to have assisted him in effecting it. But danger rather allured than deterred D'Aubigné; he therefore in his progress passed through Blois, and having assumed a disguise, he found the means of speaking to the marshal de Cossé, who answered him in a whisper, "Young man, the "duke of Anjou would be so far from accept- "ing your offer of assisting us in escaping from "hence, that you run extreme hazard in com- "ing hither to speak to him who would sign "the sentence for his own execution, were it "presented him; not daring to refuse it." A bold assertion; but justified by the duke of Anjou's pusillanimous conduct.

D'Aubigné sent privately to Blois.

The ill success he had with this old officer did not discourage him from applying personally to the duke, as had been given him in commission; though he had been met by a person who knew him through his disguise; and finding no other means of approaching the duke of Anjou, he dressed himself for a masked ball, at which the court was to be that night; and went thither: but as he was standing among the company, one of the queen's maids of honour came up to him, and shewing him two officers, who had received orders to seize him, urged him to make his escape. He readily agreed to take her advice; but

The danger to which he is exposed.

but to prevent giving any suspicion by too precipitate a flight, he conversed gaily with her till he got behind the king and queen; then stealing softly into her majesty's closet, got from thence into the yard; where changing cloaths with his footman, he mingled with others of that rank; and accompanying them out of the court-yard, he went to the stable, where he found a person, who not knowing it was of any importance, furnished him with a boat in which he passed the river, and escaped the danger that threatened him*.

When he got to Chastelliers, he found La Noue giving orders for an entertainment which he was preparing for the duke de Mayenne, who was come into those parts to secure the assistance of the nobles in Touraine, and Poictou; with great difficulty he convinced La Noue that the duke was no safe guest for him to receive. That great general, whose gentle and candid mind made him peculiarly favoured by the catholics, and easily duped by them, urged the generosity of the duke of Anjou, the good designs of the king, and the weariness of each party, as sufficient reasons to quiet all apprehensions of a new war: but D'Aubigné was armed with strong arguments to the contrary; and gave him such indisputable proofs of his error, that he at length prevailed with him to leave all festivity to such as were exposed to fewer dangers; and to repair with expedition into Poictou †.

The queen mother had set so many of her spies on D'Aubigné that he was traced by them

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 3. p. 239. † Ibid.

to many places, but had the good fortune to be no where overtaken; and his mind was so little disturbed by the danger which threatened him, or the fatigues of so long a journey, that during the course of it he composed the harangue Mr. de Mirambeau afterwards spoke at Rochelle, which determined the citizens to join with their utmost force in the war against the league. When D'Aubigné had nearly reached the end of his journey, he met a troop of soldiers going to surprize monsieur de St. Gelais, his intimate friend; and as no other means occurred to him of warning him of his danger, he yielded himself prisoner to this troop; and attending them till they approached the place, found opportunity to escape to St. Gelais, and acquaint him with the attack that would immediately be made upon him. He then joined him in repelling the assault, and narrowly escaped death; a musket ball passing through his coat *.

The king of Navarre gives him his picture.

The king of Navarre, as an acknowledgement of the service D'Aubigné had rendered him in this long and dangerous peregrination, gave him his picture, a present more genteel than useful to a man who never found the art of enriching himself in a war, where plundering made so considerable a part; and he shewed his sense of it in a manner not very proper to improve his interest with the king; writing at the bottom of it the following lines:

Ce Prince est d'etrange Nature,
Je ne sai qui Diable l'a fait,
Il recompence en peinture,
Ceux qui le servent en effect †.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 44. † Ibid.

Such

SUCH ſatirical ſtrokes as theſe, his blunt ſincerity, his rigid virtue, and ſtrict integrity, diſguſted even Henry, who more patiently bore with decent frankneſs in his ſervants than moſt other princes. From loving D'Aubigné as a friend, he grew only to value him as an uſeful ſervant, an able negotiator, and a brave officer. He wiſhed rather to be loved for his own ſake, than for that of the religion he profeſſed, in which there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe he was never very zealous. In D'Aubigné's heart religion was ever uppermoſt; and though he had an affection for the king, yet it was ſubordinate to his attachment to the general cauſe. He was ſenſible that his favor declined, but would not take any wrong ſteps to preſerve it; though ſolicited by many of his friends, who repreſented to him, that the papiſts, leſs ſcrupulous, freely complied with the king's paſſions, and without reluctance aſſiſted him in his amours, in order to win his affections; they urged that his want of compliance in theſe particulars might prove hurtful to the huguenot cauſe; and the reformed churches might ſuffer by his too rigid principles; adding, that as no one equalled him in learning, eloquence, poetry, and every talent that could pleaſe at court, it was in his power to render himſelf more agreeable than any other perſon to his maſter; to ſecure his affections, and engroſs his confidence. To which D'Aubigné only replied; "You think then that I ought to change "my nature, and force my conſcience, for the "good of our church. You ſay, God has be- "ſtowed on me uncommon talents; and for "what purpoſe? To qualify me to become a "pandar to my maſter's vices †!"

† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 42.

The time drew near when an active ſervant would be more valuable than a ſervile flatterer. The edict of pacification had never been regiſtered, nor any of the articles of it performed; except thoſe relative to prince Caſimir and the duke of Anjou; the chief view in granting it having been to divide the latter from the king of Navarre and the huguenots; and in the month of March the petition of the eſtates was agreed to by the king, and the league publiſhed; whereby all who ſigned it expreſsly engaged, that no religion but the roman catholic ſhould be ſuffered in the kingdom. As this was a plain declaration of war againſt the huguenots, each ſide now openly roſe in arms; but the huguenots not having collected together a conſiderable military force, were not able to effect any enterprize of conſequence.

Is engaged in an attack on Marmande.

D'Aubigne' accompanied La Noue in an attempt on Marmande, a well fortified town; but their numbers not amounting to a third of the garriſon, they were obliged to give it up, after having had almoſt all their men wounded. D'Aubigné being ordered to head an attack on the town, and finding his companions had no braſſets (a piece of armour to cover the arms) in a ſort of bravado took off his, that he might not be leſs expoſed to danger than the reſt of his troop; and in the heat of the action, while he was engaged in fight with one of the enemy, perceiving that a bracelet of his miſtreſs's hair, which he wore on his left arm, was burning by the fire of a muſket ſhot which had touched him, he ſhifted his ſword into his left hand, that he might with the other ſave his bracelet; a piece of

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gallantry rather to be expected in a knight-errant, than in a man who like D'Aubigné made war so much more his business than love*.

And on St. Macaire.

An attempt equally unsuccessful, and more destructive, was made on the town of St. Macaire. A corps of 260 undertook to scale it in mid-day. The town stood on a high rock, at the foot of which ran the Garonne. Part of this small company were to make a feint of attacking it by land; while the rest, who went down the river in two boats, were by means of two ladders which they carried with them to climb the rock, and enter the town that way. One of the ladders was given to D'Aubigné and another officer, and though it was too short, they assisted each other in such a manner, that they mounted to the top of the rock; but their design had been discovered; the windows on that side of the town were lined with well armed soldiers; D'Aubigné, and one of the officers who had ascended by the other ladder, each received a shot, and were beaten down into the river; but not being disabled, they returned to action; remounted the ladders, and with the rest of their party continued their attempt to enter the town; but the greatest part of them being killed, the few that remained were at length reduced, with almost equal danger, to return to their boats, one of which was now far more than sufficient to contain their slender numbers; yet above half of those died in the boat; and they must all have perished, had not one of the officers, though his shoulder bone was broken by a musket ball, had skill and

* Ibid. 45. Hist. Univ. tom. ii. liv. 3. p. 258.

resolution sufficient to steer them to a distance from the town †.

The court having succeeded so well in their desire of separating the duke of Anjou from the king of Navarre, tried every means to gain over the Marshal D'Amville; whom there was the more reason to think might be won, as he had not joined the huguenots from a similitude of religion, being still a roman catholic, but from private pique, and apprehensions for his own safety, at a time when he well knew the court aimed at his ruin. This negotiation had not been carried on so secretly, but that the king of Navarre suspected the marshal's approaching defection. To obtain more certain information than he had received from any of the persons he had employed for that purpose, he sent D'Aubigné, whose discernment, integrity, and zeal, well qualified him for an able negotiator, though at that time he was only about twenty-seven years of age, into Languedoc to the marshal, giving him some ostensible instructions concerning matters he was to treat of, in concert with the deputies from the reformed churches who were then with the marshal; but in private charging him to obtain from that general a fresh attestation in writing, and well authenticated, of his adherence to their party; to prevail on him to draw his forces towards Auvergne, which there was reason to believe the duke of Anjou would soon attack; and to get from him some pecuniary assistance.

Is sent to negotiate with the marshal D'Amville.

† Ibid. p. 264. Oecon. roy. & pol. &c. de Sully, tom. i. p. 96.

When D'Aubigné arrived at Tholouſe, he avoided meeting the officers on guard, that he might not be carried before monſieur Cornuſſon, governor of the town. He could ſo well imitate the bad French ſpoken by the Italians, eſpecially thoſe of Lombardy, as gave the people he talked with reaſon to ſuſpect him of belonging to the queen mother; and he pretended to be juſt come from Blois. An old man, who had long been one of marſhal D'Amville's chief counſellors, happened to alight at the ſame inn, and wiſhed to know what was paſſing at the eſtates; which were not yet over. D'Aubigné, well inclined to enter into converſation, gave him the beſt intelligence he could; and after they had talked together ſome time with great ſeeming openneſs, he ſaid to him, "Sir, the excellent account the "gentleman with whom you found me con-"verſing, gave me of your merit, makes me "believe I may ſafely lay open to you the diffi-"culties I am at preſent under. Being ſent by the "queen to treat with marſhal D'Amville on ſome "points rather delicate, I find myſelf ſtopped "ſhort by a rumour of a perfect reconciliation "between him and the king of Navarre; the "only part therefore I think I have to act is to "return to her majeſty without farther delay; "except I hear that thoſe accounts are er-"roneous."

The old man, ſeeing no cauſe to ſuſpect the truth of what was ſaid to him, and very unwilling a negotiation ſhould be impeded that might be of uſe to his maſter, communicated to D'Aubigné many ſecret facts, as irrefragable proofs of the marſhal's faithful attachment to the king

king of France; aſſuring him, that he only delayed an open declaration of his return to his majeſty's ſervice, till he could ſecure ſome of the cities poſſeſſed by the reformed; that he might, by bringing to the catholics ſuch advantages, render himſelf the more acceptable, and of greater conſideration in the party. On this intelligence, D'Aubigné immediately ſent off a perſon to the king of Navarre with a letter in cypher, wherein he told him he might be aſſured of the defection of the marſhal; and intreated him to order his affairs accordingly; adding, that he was proceeding on his commiſſion, and ſhould ſoon acquaint him with farther particulars.

The old counſellor attending the levee of Mr. de Cornuſſon the next morning, mentioned the Italian courier, imagining the governor had ſeen him; but finding his miſtake, began to ſuſpect he had been deceived; and deſired the perſon might be ſecured. Cornuſſon immediately put himſelf at the head of a troop of horſe, overtook D'Aubigné at Caſtelnau-d-arri, and having learnt that the duke de Joyeuſe was at Carcaſſone, he carried his priſoner thither. In their march the ſoldiers and officers having abuſed the king of Navarre, and uttered many calumnies againſt him, the impatient D'Aubigné took fire, and gave them the lye; which was conſidered as ſo great an outrage, the men being under arms, and on duty, that the officers with much difficulty prevented the ſoldiers from taking ſpeedy and effectual vengeance. When they arrived at Carcaſſone, though in the preſence of the duke de Joyeuſe, governor of the province, D'Aubigné found that Cornuſſon deſigned to try him himſelf; whereupon, taking out of his

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pocket a letter from his maſter, and ſpringing from the people who had him in cuſtody, he made ſome ſteps towards the duke, holding out the letter; who immediately advanced to receive it. He was then permitted to defend himſelf from the two accuſations brought againſt him. He ſaid that he had indeed paſſed through Tholouſe without having been carried before the governor, but as he was of the contrary party, he did not imagine it was his duty to teach the ſoldiers theirs; if therefore any fault was committed, it was not by him. He did not deny but he had learnt from the old gentleman's converſation, that marſhal D'Amville ſtill kept his majeſty in ſuſpence as to the reſolution he would take, and that his lady was endeavouring to make him diſmiſs Segur, who carried on the intelligence between her huſband and the king of Navarre. He acknowledged that he had given the lye to an officer under arms, but it was in defence of the honour of one who ought to be reſpected by every man that bore arms; and he was very ready as ſoon as he had delivered to the marſhal the diſpatches with which he was charged, to return, and reſigning himſelf into the hands of the king's lieutenant, maintain with his ſword the lye he had given. The duke de Joyeuſe, ſatisfied with the defence he had made, treated him with the greateſt civility, and appointed guards to eſcorte him nearly to the end of his journey.

When D'Aubigné arrived at Pezenas, the town where the marſhal then reſided, he ordered Segur, when the marſhal ſhould know of his being come, and aſk any queſtions about him, to anſwer them in a manner that ſhould imply

his contempt for ſuch a meſſenger. He had the night before drawn up for himſelf new inſtructions, compoſed of articles ſo trifling, and unimportant, that they might ſafely have been truſted to a common footman; and preſenting theſe to the marſhal, with ſome converſation equally inſignificant, little attention was paid to him, or care taken to conceal any tranſactions from his obſervation. He paſſed ten days, in appearance, entirely given up to the ſports and amuſements which he ſhared with the ſon of the marſhal Bellegarde, and other young noblemen whom he had been acquainted with while at court; but he ſpent his nights with thoſe huguenots who had been deputed by the party to endeavour to retain marſhal D'Amville on their ſide, and in ſending off diſpatches to all the towns belonging to the reformed, to warn them of the deſigns againſt them; at the ſame time inſtructing them how beſt to baffle any attempts; taking upon himſelf the blame of the actions he adviſed, ſhould any thing amiſs happen in conſequence. This gave offence to ſome of the huguenot miniſters, who thought it inſolent in a young man to preſume ſo much on his own abilities: nor did the information he ſent the king of Navarre meet with a better reception; he was accuſed by his majeſty's principal counſellors of impudent conceit of himſelf, in pretending, even before he had approached the marſhal, to contradict the accounts given by Segur de Pardaillan, a man whoſe judgment was matured by ſo great a ſuperiority of years. D'Aubigné, finding that ſomething more was requiſite to make him believed and regarded, applied to madame D'Uſez for her aſſiſtance. That lady was near an hundred years old, but re-

retained both ſtrength and quickneſs of underſtanding. She lived at Pezenas in great figure; much reſpected by every party, but affectionately attached to the reformed. D'Aubigné, by ſeeking every means of obliging her, got ſo far into her favour, that ſhe undertook to learn from marſhal Bellegarde the terms offered to Monſ. D'Amville; and apprehending there was no ſurer method of making him betray the ſecret than by heating his temper till he was off his guard, ſhe oppoſed his intention of reconciling his friend to the king, and gave ſo many reaſons why it could not be for his benefit, that Bellegarde, growing angry, produced his inſtructions from the court, to convince her of her error.

The old lady read them with attention, and treaſured them up in her memory; and when the marſhal was gone, ſhe and D'Aubigné drew up the form of the inſtructions as exactly as they could, adhering as much as poſſible even to the words uſed in them; and for ſuch parts as madame D'Uſez could not perfectly recollect the terms in which they were expreſſed, they cloathed them in the jargon of the court; interſperſed with the perſuaſive blandiſhments uſual with the queen mother.

This being done, D'Aubigné took advantage of a day that the marſhal Bellegarde was confined by indiſpoſition to his chamber, and knocking at his door was immediately admitted; the ſick man expecting ſome entertainment from the wit and vivacity of his viſitor; but D'Aubigné with great gravity thus addreſſed him:

"Sir,

"Sir, if you will ſwear to me on that faith "and honour you profeſs, not to force me by "any method to diſcloſe the author of the in- "telligence I am going to give you, I have "ſomething of importance to communicate." The marſhal having given his word, D'Aubigné proceeded. "The inſtructions, Sir, that were "given you to effect a reconciliation between "the king and marſhal D'Amville have been "tranſmitted to me, and I am much ſurpriſed "to ſee the ſnares ſpread for your honour, "and the honour of one of the nobleſt officers "in Chriſtendom. They would make you ac- "ceſſary to his ruin; the ruin of him to whom "you owe your advancement. All the pro- "miſes they give are falſe and vain; for the "performance remains in the power of thoſe "whoſe faith has been as often violated as en- "gaged. You would perſuade your friend "from being one of the chiefs of a ſtrong and "firm body, to become a ſervant to a weak "ſtate; a ſtate already divided; and which will "ſoon be under the tyranny of the ancient ene- "mies of the houſe of Montmorenci; a ſtate "which you deſtroy by ſeparating from your "preſent friends, and which can find no re- "ſource but in their conjunction. If com- "paſſion for the kingdom is not a ſufficient "motive, at leaſt ſuffer a due regard to your "own ſafety to influence you. Either the king "or the Guiſes will obtain their views; ſhould "it be the king, he will be careful to bring "low thoſe who have ſhewn themſelves ſo "powerful againſt him. The offender being a "prince, will not pardon thoſe he has injured, "or attempted to injure. The aſſaſſination "and poiſon which the marſhal eſcaped by the

"timely

" timely notice I gave him, (although now for-
" gotten) will rankle in the king's breast;
" nor is he of so brave a spirit as to suffer a no-
" ble enemy to exist, who is over-reached by
" fraud, not won by virtue. If the Guises suc-
" ceed in their designs, it will be long before
" they are sufficiently established in power to
" wish, or dare, to shew favor to those whom
" they have cause to fear. Your reputation,
" Sir, will be blasted with the imputation of
" being the supplanter of your friend, to whom
" through another channel they promise (as I can
" prove to you) to extend his power at the ex-
" pence of your authority. They have already
" tempted my master and the prince of Condé
" by promises more specious, and more honour-
" able than those you bring; for they do not
" ask them to betray their sincere, their bosom
" friends; promises more alluring, as offering
" them the supreme command of all the armies
" in France; more secure, because all their par-
" ty would partake of the peace granted to
" them. These princes had stronger induce-
" ments to accept those offers, for all the vio-
" lence of war lies on them; here you are free
" from it; their finances are exhausted, the
" marshal's are overflowing. Thus hope and
" necessity unite to induce them to listen to
" such overtures; but fidelity and virtue ren-
" der them deaf to all insidious offers; and to
" every invitation to treat without the concur-
" rence of their companion in the war, the
" marshal, who now acts so contrary a part to-
" wards them, (his superiors in rank) unmind-
" ful that with the confederates all promises are
" valid, and could at his will be made effectual;
" but on a weak and divided party there can be
" no

" no dependence. It is time to reflect on the solidity of the particular articles which you are
" commissioned to promise him; as for the
" first, not in order indeed, but in importance,
" what probability is there of dispossessing the
" duke de Joyeuse of a government wherein he
" is established, authorized, cherished by the
" parliament of Tholouse, and supported by
" the favour of his son Mr. D'Arques, passionately beloved by the king? How shall Narbonne be taken from the count de Rieux?
" or Beziers from Mr. de Spondillan? Have
" they not learnt from so many examples to
" adhere closely to secret orders, and to despise those that are ostensible? Consider what
" various interests oppose the execution of these
" promises; how many complaints, what heavy charges will be laid against you, to render
" you, who have hitherto been beloved, the object
" of detestation. Reflect to whom the promises
" are made, and at whose expence they must
" be performed. Can you be so blind as to
" believe they will strip the duke of Anjou to
" clothe you with his spoils?"

The marshal de Bellegrade perceiving the terms of his instructions in the articles alluded to, was confounded; but finding it to no purpose to deny that he was charged with such, only sought to refute the imputation of deceiving his friend; and therefore justified the validity of the king's promises. D'Aubigné, in order to get to the bottom of the whole affair, took occasion from thence to observe that they would be rendered much more secure by the concurrence of the king of Navarre, if he likewise could be brought to accept of the terms offered,

offered, as they would be a fort of fecurity to each other. He then expatiated on the "ne-"ceffitous circumftances of that prince, and "the confequent diftreffes of his fervants; that "to inftance himfelf, his mafter had great good "will towards him, but was not able to give "him any effectual proof of it; nor could he, or "the reft of that prince's fervants, expect any "thing but poverty, while their mafter conti-"nued at variance with the court."

THIS gave the marfhal occafion to found him; faying, with a figh, that "indeed he was "fenfible the king's promifes might be more "fafely depended upon if an engagement were "at the fame time entered into with the princes: "this he confirmed by many reafons; adding, "that if D'Aubigné would as diligently en-"deavour to bring his mafter back to the court, "as he had laboured to carry him from it, the "negotiation might be retarded, and the marfhal "and the princes unite in one treaty."

D'AUBIGNE' replied, that "he would not "promife any thing of that fort, not having "fufficient power to anfwer for fuccefs; but if "they would fhew him any folid means of fe-"curing his mafter from the deceitful arts of the "court, and if he could be ftrengthened by the "concurrence of thofe who had the king of "Navarre's confidence, and who would be "actuated by regard for his repofe and fafety, "he would fhew them how weary he was of "poverty; but that as circumftances then were, "he could promife them nothing."

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BELLEGARDE then pressing his hand, mentioned monsieur de Laverdin, and some others to him, as persons who were endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between the two kings; promising him rewards for his assistance: D'Aubigné replied, he would enter into no other engagement than to act the part of an honest man. The marshal, flattered by the hopes thus given him, forbad the execution of an enterprize which he was just going to undertake. D'Aubigné immediately repaired to marshal D'Amville, and produced a memorial from his master, of more importance than the first he had presented. He then acted the same part he had done with Bellegarde. The marshal at first endeavoured to deceive him in regard to his negotiations with the court; but finding him too well informed, and that his friend had made overtures towards uniting interests with the king of Navarre, he grew more open, and exhorted D'Aubigné, and Segur, who was present, to prevail on their master to join with him in the transaction. They gave him all the reason to hope for their assistance, which he could gather from their attention to his discourse and their silence, but would enter into no promise; and the next day was appointed for treating the matter more fully. Segur related what had passed to the deputies, who returned directly to inform those who had sent them of the necessity of being on their guard; and D'Aubigné having got all the light into the affair he could expect, set out for Castres without waiting for the next day's conference. From thence he took leave of the marshal by letter, wherein he made such remonstrances against his conduct, that with great concern the marshal told a friend, had he received them eight days

days ſooner they would have prevented his quitting the party *.

Returns to the king of Navarre.

THROUGH a variety of dangers D'Aubigné returned to the king of Navarre's court, where La Noue was appointed to receive all the intelligence he had brought; and if he had communicated it to no one elſe, that gentleman's prudence was ſuch, that the ſervice D'Aubigné had done his maſter would not have turned to his own detriment; but his too great warmth of temper, the zeal he felt for the cauſe, and his honeſt deteſtation of treachery, impelled him to ſpeak too freely, and too publickly, of the under-hand practices of many of the catholics, who were in greateſt favor with the king; which raiſed him ſuch powerful enemies, as frequently endangered his life, and filled it with vexation and diſappointment. It is impoſſible that harmony ſhould long ſubſiſt in a party compoſed of perſons whoſe views and intereſts were not only different, but in many reſpects contradictory. The malecontents, who formed a very conſiderable part of the king of Navarre's adherents, were roman catholics; many of them had diſtinguiſhed themſelves little to their honour at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, and muſt of courſe be very odious to the reformed. Though the favor of princes is too complicated a benefit to be often ſought from diſintereſted affection to their perſons, yet a man ſo noble in mind, ſo amiable in manners, as the king of Navarre, was probably beloved by ſome about him, independant of all views of advancement; but the number muſt have been very ſmall; for ambition

* Ibid. p. 273.

will

will ſteal into almoſt every heart, when there is a proſpect of its gratification; and when once entered, it ſeldom remains long a ſecondary paſſion; affection for the merits of the prince will turn into an attachment to his power; and having ſo much to hope for themſelves, their attention will center there; the regards of friendſhip will be conſidered as trifling gifts from a man who has ſo much more to give. As a poſſible benefactor he intereſts every paſſion; as a friend he can engage only the calm and rational affections, which will not often keep their ground when ſtrong and turbulent paſſions have gained admittance into the heart. The malecontents were leſs actuated by attachment to Henry, than by fear and hatred of the Guiſes; contempt for the reigning king; and hopes of acquiring a great ſhare in that power to which Henry's extraordinary talents evinced, that he muſt one day be exalted. The great object of the huguenots was their religion; Henry was more dear to them as he was at the head of thoſe who fought in its defence, than for any merits peculiar to himſelf: they ſuſpected his ſteadineſs in this their great concern, when they ſaw how remiſs he was in the practice of that religion of which he profeſſed himſelf the defender, and how much he favoured it's greateſt enemies. Thus mutual jealouſies and diſguſt, between parties ſo oppoſite in views, created continual diſcord, which it was not in Henry's power to reconcile; and in all their quarrels he was diſpoſed to favor the malecontents. Their free manners, and unbounded participation in all his pleaſures, rendered them more agreeable companions than the huguenots, who ſometimes by ſpeech, and more frequently by their decent and ſober courſe of life, re-

proached him for vices that he was by no means disposed to relinquish. Their strong attachment to their sect he considered as a demerit; and frequently declared he was more obliged to the roman catholics, who had espoused his fortunes from affection, than to the reformed, who adhered to him only for the advantage of their religion; a declaration rather designed as a specious excuse for his partiality, than as the expression of his real opinion.

HENRY was too wise a man to believe the catholics were disinterested in their attachment to him; and he evidently proved it by conferring almost all favors on them; he knew he must purchase their services: he trusted that the interests of their religion would sufficiently bind the huguenots to his party, without the aid of private emoluments. He was sensible that all the power of the huguenots was insufficient to place him on the throne, though their assistance was absolutely necessary. He must even foresee that there was little probability of ascending it, or at least possessing it in peace, while he professed a religion to which far the greatest part of the kingdom was averse; he therefore knew that at length he should disappoint their hopes; and thus the sense of every service they rendered him, was accompanied with a consciousness that one day they would be so many matters of reproach. Such reflexions could not fail of alienating him from them; and he beheld as future enemies, men who were made his friends only by his professing a religion which sooner or later he should be brought to abjure. Another circumstance made against the reformed; the tenets of their re-

religion were leſs favorable to abſolute monarchy than thoſe of the catholics. A ſpirit of liberty had appeared among them wherever they had prevailed; and having ſhaken off the ſpiritual yoke of the Pope, they began to conſider how far the power of a temporal prince ought reaſonably to extend; and did not think their perſons, any more than their conſciences, ſhould be enſlaved. No man could be more free from all inclination to tyranny than Henry; and when his paſſion for women, the vice which caſt a ſtain on his whole life, was out of the queſtion, power in his hands was only the means of making his kingdom happy and proſperous: but it cannot be imagined that any prince will contentedly ſee his authority abridged; if ſome have, of their own free choice, ſet bounds to it, the ſmallneſs of their number, and the greatneſs of their virtue, will allow us to conſider them as prodigies, to be admired, to be venerated, but not likely to be imitated.

The king of Navarre's court was divided between thoſe two parties; Monſ. de Laverdin was at the head of the catholics, the viſcount de Turenne at the head of the reformed. The accounts D'Aubigné brought from Languedoc of the ſecret negotiations of ſome of the catholics increaſed the animoſities, and rendered him very obnoxious to that party; their reſentment went ſo far, that at Agen they formed a deſign of having him murdered one night in his bed; but the conſpiracy was diſcovered while he was in the king's chamber, receiving a commiſſion to go to the Cevennes, and take on him the command of the people of that province, who had requeſted the king of Navarre to ſend them one

Is in danger of being aſſaſſinated.

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of his officers, to put an end to the contention among themselves for command, which disabled them from making the necessary opposition to the duke of Anjou's forces, who had laid waste their whole country.

D'Aubigne' being informed that the king had consented to the intended murder, addressed him as he sat at table in these words: "You have then, "Sire, formed a design to put to death a man, "whom God chose as his instrument for the pre- "servation of your life; a service which I do not "reproach you, any more than all the wounds I "have received in fighting your cause; but I take "the liberty of reminding you, that I have "served you faithfully, without your having "been able to make me either a flatterer or a "pandar. May God forgive you this action! "You may perceive by the freedom with which "I speak to you, that I set little value on my "life *."

The king was extremely offended at so free an accusation; and Mr. de Laverdin, as a more decent means of destroying a man so obnoxious to the party, brought D'Aubigné a challenge from the Sieur de la Magdelaine, who probably was the person charged with an intention of committing the murder; and though D'Aubigné being just recovered from a fever, was so weak that he could not wield a sword, yet taking a poniard in one hand, and a pistol in the other, he attended Laverdin to the place were the duel was to be fought, without having taken any other precautions to secure a fair combat except La-

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 46.

verdin's word of honour; but the captain of the adjacent citadel discovering eighteen catholic soldiers who had laid aside their regimentals, and concealed themselves in a hut near the place agreed on for the duellists to engage in, he made his company take arms, and pulling up the draw-bridge, great slaughter would have ensued, had not La Noue and another gentleman exerted themselves very much to prevent it. Laverdin took refuge in the bishop's house; and the viscount de Turenne, who had undertaken the defence of Villeneuve in Agenois, on Laverdin's refusing so dangerous an employment, having heard what had passed, set out post, to convey D'Aubigné safely from a place where such treachery was practising against him. The king of Navarre refused to give up the perpetrators of these actions, and by undertaking their defence, alienated the minds of many of the reformed, some of whom accompanied D'Aubigné to Castel-Jaloux, where he was advised to retire, being lieutenant to Vachonniere, governor of that town*.

Goes to Castel-Jaloux.

As soon as he arrived at Castel-Jaloux, he wrote to monsieur Laverdin in the following terms: " Sir, I must remind you of the frank-
" ness with which I repaired to the place of
" rendezvous on your word; though I had re-
" ceived several informations that it was a very
" unsafe one for me; which makes my part of
" the affair the most honourable. However
" doubtful this transaction has rendered your
" faith, or at least your foresight, if the sieur
" de la Magdelaine has any inclination to measure

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. p. 285.

" ſwords with me, there is a very favourable ſpot " between this place and Nerac, where I will " meet him at ſuch time as you ſhall appoint, " without any other ſecurity than your word." The ſieur de la Magdelaine did not chuſe to accept this challenge*.

Is wounded in a ſkirmiſh.

SOON after D'Aubigné arrived at Caſtel-Jaloux, Vachonniere ſolicited by his garriſon to enter into action, ſet out with a troop of about 80 men on the road to Marmande, where they were moſt likely to find opportunities of ſkirmiſhing with the enemy. He ſent D'Aubigné before with 15 horſe, ſupported by capt. Dominge, at the head of a like number of muſketeers; but unfortunately, the baron de Mauzevin, without their knowledge, had at the ſame time draughted men from all the garriſons in the neighbouring towns poſſeſſed by the catholics, with an intention of laying in ambuſh 750 muſketeers, in a place where he hoped by ſkirmiſhing to draw the garriſon of Caſtel-Jaloux, if by inſults or bravados he could provoke them to quit their fort to engage him. When D'Aubigné approached the river Garonne, ſeeing the banks of the oppoſite ſhore covered with ſoldiers, and that a boatful of them had reached the ſide of the river on which he was; he called to Dominge to make his men lie down on their faces, that they might not be ſeen; this order being obeyed, as ſoon as the enemy were landed, D'Aubigné attacked them, and killed 60, with the loſs of only one man.

VACHONNIERE perceiving the great numbers that were going to embark, thought it moſt ad-

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 47.

viſeable to return home; but D'Aubigné, deſirous before he followed him to ſee to what purpoſe ſo conſiderable a body was deſtined, ſtayed to reconnoitre them; and obſerving that after embarking in a haſty and tumultuary manner, they landed at a little village named Couſtare, he rode up to his captain, and adviſed him to march to a ſmall plain they had obſerved in their road, there to halt and prepare to fight the enemy, who could not have leiſure to put themſelves in very good order, for he imagined they ſhould only have infantry to oppoſe them, the town having concealed from his view a ſtrong body of horſe, with the baron de Mauzevin at their head. Vachonniere approved his advice, but found himſelf much diſtreſſed by the raſhneſs and impetuoſity of ſome young volunteers in his company, who were ſo eager to engage, that they paid no deference to his commands. They ran to the attack without order, not having patience to march to the plain to which they were directed. A general confuſion enſued. The numbers were very unequal; but the huguenots in ſome meaſure ſupplied in courage their deficiency in men, and maintained the fight with incredible obſtinacy. D'Aubigné had endeavoured to reſtore order among them, but it was impoſſible to reſtrain their fatal ardour; Vachonniere, mortally wounded, fell under the feet of D'Aubigné's horſe; D'Aubigné, covered with wounds, ſunk beſide him as he was attempting to lay Vachonniere's body acroſs his horſe, and three more of their men fell dead upon them. As the ſmall remains of this valiant troop were preparing to retire, Dominge ſaw D'Aubigné, who having ſhaken off one of the bodies that had fallen on him, though

unable to riſe, was yet defending himſelf with his ſword againſt three of the enemy. Dominge, inſtantly calling to him three of his brave friends, came to D'Aubigné's reſcue, and eaſily drove away the three officers, whom he had ſo ſeverely wounded, that one of them died of his wounds. This ſmall band ſetting D'Aubigné on horſeback, carried him off, though not without being obliged to face about ſeveral times to defend themſelves from ſome who purſued them, till they reached the plain which had been deſigned for the field of battle. They found there a part of their troops, who, more obedient to orders, had not yet been engaged, and were determined to revenge the loſs of their companions; but by good fortune, for their ſmall number left them but little probability of ſucceſs, the baron de Mauzevin being wounded, ſounded a retreat; and the garriſon of Caſtel-Jaloux retired into the town with the loſs of 27 of their ſmall corps *.

D'Aubigné was confined to his bed for ſome time by his wounds; but having a ſpirit as little to be ſubdued by ſickneſs as by danger, the confinement of his body did not reſtrain the freedom of his mind, and he employed that ſeaſon of leiſure from more important affairs, in compoſing verſes, which he dictated to an amanuenſis.

He takes Caſtelnau de Maumes.

As ſoon as he was recovered, he led his garriſon (for by Vachonniere's death he was become the commanding officer) to Caſtelnau de Maumes, a caſtle near Bourdeaux, which they ſcaled, having ſome ſecret intelligence in the place. The lady to whom it belonged, applied to mon-

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 3. p. 288.

ſieur

sieur de Laverdin, of whose favor she enjoyed a greater share than was consistent with her reputation; and he had sufficient interest with the king of Navarre to prevail on him to disavow the enterprize, and to order the place to be restored to her; notwithstanding the chief persons of the huguenot party strongly opposed it. But D'Aubigné, who thought private amours ought not to influence martial affairs, paid little regard to those orders. Thus disappointed, madame de Castelnau prevailed on the marquis de Villars to besiege the place, having obtained the king of Navarre's promise to forbear sending thither any reinforcements. As the marquis approached with 14 cannon, D'Aubigné entered the castle with 250 soldiers, and drawing them up to advantage, they made so considerable a figure, that the marquis mistaking them for succours, sent by the king contrary to the promise given, quitted the attempt, and led off his troops towards Manciet.

He repels some attacks on the place.

As the appearance of so great an army could not fright D'Aubigné into obedience, Mr. de Castelnau, a near relation of the lady's, sought to prevail by treachery; and employed La Salle de Ciron, a catholic officer, who solicited two of the soldiers of the garrison of Castel-Jaloux to furnish him with an opportunity to take Castelnau by surprize, representing that as the king of Navarre had ordered it to be restored, there could be no treason in giving it up. The soldiers desired time for consideration; which being granted, they employed it in communicating to D'Aubigné the proposals that had been made to them. By his directions they pretended to comply with La Salle's proposal, but said they could not ef-

fect it till the garrison of the castle should take the field on some enterprize.

Having thus gained all the leisure that was necessary, when every thing was prepared, they fixed the time, and agreed on the manner in which the place should be delivered into La Salle's hands.

D'Aubigné set out the evening before at the head of sixty men; but returned privately in the night, bringing with him likewise the garrison of Castel-Jaloux. La Salle, with his party, some of them disguised as peasants, others in women's cloaths, having appeared at the gates of the castle at break of day, they received signs that they might safely approach; but met with so warm a reception, that of those that entered forty-eight were killed, and the rest were so roughly handled in their retreat, that few would have escaped, had they not at some distance been met by a troop of 200 men, drawn from the garrisons of St. Macaire and Langon; at the appearance of whom the huguenots gave up the pursuit. This action exasperated the king of Navarre so much, that he sent Mr. de Castelnau to Castel-Jaloux, to threaten D'Aubigné that he would send four cannon against that town, and besiege it; to which D'Aubigné replied, that "those who had despised fourteen, "were not likely to be afraid of four *."

D'Aubigné, ever eager to be in action, made some attempts to harrass the marquis de Villars's

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 50, 51. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. p. 288, 289.

army

army, which was then but weak; and took ſome priſoners near Sabres, but was ſoon checked in his career, by hearing that Mr. de Pouzanne, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, had followed him, and was then approaching. This information obliged him to deſiſt from his expedition, and the night coming on, he took advantage of the opportunity it afforded him of amuſing the enemy, and facilitating his own retreat. As he paſſed through a village, he ſelected twelve of his men who were the beſt mounted, and ſending the reſt forwards, he cauſed fires to be lighted in the village, and took all proper methods to make the enemy believe he had fixed his quarters there for that night; wherein he ſucceeded ſo well, that Mr. de Pouzanne determined to attack it at the dawn of day; and while he was employed in the neceſſary preparations for that purpoſe, D'Aubigné and his men got off unperceived. But being afterwards informed by the priſoners he had taken, that the marquis's army was going to be divided, he returned, and early in the morning reached a plain, where he diſcovered a corps ſomewhat inferior to his, which he attacked, and ſubdued without great difficulty, it being only an eſcort to two ladies whom it was conducting to Bourdeaux, where they had been condemned to be beheaded. The corps was compoſed of twenty light horſe of the viſcount d'Orté's, and ſome ſoldiers draughted from Dax and Bayonne; of thoſe that belonged to Dax the ſoldiers killed twenty-two, by way of repriſal for the cruelties exerciſed in that town at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew againſt the huguenots, who being confined in priſon by the governor, with an intention of ſaving them from the

He reſcues two ladies.

the populace, the furious bigots broke open the prison gates, and put them to death in the most cruel manner. To the rest of the troops D'Aubigné restored their arms and horses; caused their wounds to be dressed; and sent them back to the viscount, ordering them to tell him that they had been witnesses to the different treatment given to soldiers and hangmen: referring to the viscount's answer to the king on receiving orders for the massacre. D'Aubigné conducted the ladies safely to their parents, who lived at Chatillon. In a week after, presents of worked scarves and handkerchiefs were sent from Bayonne, to all the garrison at Castel-Jaloux; nor did the citizens of that town omit on other occasions, expressing their gratitude to D'Aubigné, in the highest terms of affection and respect *.

The important services D'Aubigné rendered to the party by the early discovery of marshal D'Amville's defection, and the information and instructions he sent to the cities in Languedoc to be on their guard against any attempts that might be made to get possession of them, appeared by the marshal's failing in twenty-two enterprizes on the towns in that province, whereby he returned into the service of the king of France with far less importance and consideration than he expected; but nothing touched him so nearly as being disappointed of Montpellier, from whence his wife was expelled with very little ceremony †. The huguenots of that province elected for general in his place Monf.

* Ibid. p. 292.

† Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 59.

de

de Thoré, his brother, a rigid catholic, in order to keep well with that party; and becauſe Monſ. de Chatillon, ſon to the brave, but unfortunate admiral, on whom their future hopes were fixed, was then too young to undertake the command; though already one of their braveſt officers.

MARSHAL Bellegarde laid waſte all the country about Niſmes, ſetting fire to the corn which was then ripe; and marſhal D'Amville laying ſiege to Montpellier, reduced the town to great extremity, Monſ. de Thoré not having ſufficient force to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege. The inhabitants, and even the ſoldiers of the garriſon, preſſed by hunger, began to mutiny againſt their commanders, who refuſed to capitulate. Hereupon young de Chatillon, he being then in the town, offered to go and ſeek for ſuccours from their neighbours and allies; promiſing, that ſucceſsful or not, he would return to them, and ſhare their fortunes; leaving his two brothers as hoſtages, after the beſieged had engaged by oath to wait his return, even ſhould they be reduced to ſuch extremity as to eat each other. Taking with him a party of ſoldiers, he forced his way in the night through the enemy's camp; when ſending back his companions, he haſtened to the Cevennes, then into Rovergue, to Caſtres, to Montauban, and from thence, with amazing celerity, went to the king of Navarre at Bergerac; and obtaining from him, orders to thoſe whom he had already diſpoſed to follow him, he collected his recruits from their ſeveral places; and in nineteen days returned within ſight of the enemy's army, with 3000 infantry, and 300 horſe; which united with Monſ. de Thoré's troops,

Siege of Montpellier.

De Chatillon ſuccours the beſieged.

troops, composed a body of 4000 foot, and 500 cavalry.

By break of day this army marched, in order of battle, towards the bridge over the river Lez, just before which rises a little hill of craggy rocks, whereon marshal D'Amville had encamped the best part of his infantry; and in the valley beneath lodged his light horse, to be at hand to sustain them. There was no means of approaching the bridge without previously forcing this well placed camp; a dangerous enterprize; but de Chatillon's ardour was equal to any attempt. He led part of his infantry against it, and after an obstinate fight of above four hours, wherein he several times seized, and again lost the hill, he drove the catholics into the valley; where they communicated confusion and fear to the light horse, and thereby gave de Chatillon opportunity to force his way into the city. Without allowing himself rest or refreshment, he immediately attacked the besiegers batteries, and drove them from the town. The citizens joyfully united their endeavours with his, to deliver the place from so formidable an enemy, and applying themselves to remove the works that had been raised against it, found the barricadoes chiefly composed of barrels filled with corn; and thus at once gathered so plentiful an harvest, that a loaf of bread, which the day before was valued at a crown, was the day following sold for a penny. The occasion of this extraordinary profusion of corn in the enemy's camp, was that they having ravaged the circumjacent country, and gathered in the harvest, all the vessels they had were scarcely sufficient to contain it; and they little doubted finding

finding a good market for a commodity become peculiarly valuable, from the great devastation they had made in that part of the kingdom *.

The next morning, by nine o'clock, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle: equally determined to engage, they marched towards each other, and the forlorn hope were commencing a skirmish, when a sudden stop was put to all hostilities by the arrival of two couriers, one dispatched by the king of Navarre to messrs. de Thoré and de Chatillon; and the other by the duke de Montpensier to marshal D'Amville, to acquaint them that a peace was concluded between the two kings †. September. Peace concluded,

The articles of the treaty were less advantageous to the huguenots, than those granted them by the former peace, but still far better than they could have obtained, had not the king of France sought to bring the war to a conclusion, with a view of lessening the importance of the Guises, whose bold encroachments on the regal power very justly alarmed him. By assuming the title of head of the league, he had gained nothing; his authority was meerly nominal; while the Guises enjoyed that plenitude of power, which the entire confidence, and ardent love of a whole people can alone bestow. They were considered as the bulwarks of the catholic faith, and beheld with sentiments approaching to adoration.

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* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 3. p. 313.
† Davila, liv. 6. p. 340. Mem. d'Etat, par Villeroy, tom. i. p. 16. Esprit de la Ligue, tom. ii. lib. 5. p. 185. Cayet, p. 7.

The pulpits resounded with eulogiums of their pious zeal; the soldiers received courage from their intrepidity; and their gracious manners won the hearts of the people. In vain did Henry practise all the mummeries of monkish bigotry to gain the reputation of piety; the most scandalous irregularities were mixed with his solemn fopperies; and the Guises took care to have them made public, even from the pulpits*; till the whole nation at once despised him for his puerile superstitions, and hated him for his vices. He had good reason to fear that the league, declaredly formed in opposition to the huguenots, would turn against himself, and sought by peace to dissolve so dangerous an association.

D'Aubigné in disgrace with the king of Navarre.

The peace having deprived most of the huguenot officers of all martial employment, they repaired to the king of Navarre's court: but that was no proper place for D'Aubigné; he knew himself extremely obnoxious to the catholic party, and disagreeable to the king; nor is it strange that in so licentious a court, treachery should be more easily forgiven than rigid virtue, and strict probity: frankness in speech will there generally displease; and in a society whose manners are depraved, integrity of conduct gives still greater offence, for actions reproach more severely than words: and so effectually had they jointly operated in D'Aubigné's disfavor, that Henry had given mean, but strong proofs, of his animosity against him on more than one occasion.

After the engagement wherein Vachonniere received his mortal wound, a young officer who

* Dav. lib. 4. p. 345.

had

had been in the heat of the battle, going to Agen, where the king of Navarre then was, that prince asked him the particulars of so obstinate a fight. The young man, warm with gratitude, believing that he and his companions owed their lives to D'Aubigné, who by the vigorous attack in which he so much exposed himself, had delivered them out of the hands of the enemy, was so lavish in his praises, and related so many astonishing proofs of his valour, that the king, provoked beyond decency, told him he lied. The young man, finding his honour concerned, wrote to some of his relations, then at Castel-Jaloux, desiring them to transmit him an account of the actions they had seen performed by D'Aubigné; and having received from them not only a full confirmation of all he had reported, but that six persons shewed wounds in their faces (one of whom afterwards died of them) which they had received from D'Aubigné, as he lay wounded on the ground; he prevailed on Mr. de Laverdin to present this his justification to the king; to whom he also reported, that the sieur de Dominge, who had been in the thickest of the battle, had likewise performed wonders. Not long after Dominge also came to Agen, and going to pay his respects to the king, who was then engaged at tennis, his majesty left off play, to enquire of him the particulars of the several enterprizes in which he had borne a part; but in the course of his relation he gave such very high commendation to D'Aubigné as disgusted the king, and not only lost Dominge his majesty's favor, but the reward he had a right to expect for thirty-eight wounds he had received in his service *.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 49.

After the death of Vachonniere, the citizens and garrison of Castel-Jaloux would have requested the king to appoint D'Aubigné to that government; but he would not suffer them to do it, as it could produce no other effect than exasperating the king still more against him; for he well knew, that every acquisition of new honours, every proof of the esteem of others, can only serve to render the injured more hateful to the injurer.

D'Aubigne' being no longer detained in France by interest or employment, formed a resolution of going to offer his services to prince Casimir, second son to the elector Palatine; but first wrote a farewell letter to the king of Navarre in the following terms:

His letter to Henry.

"Sire, Your memory will reproach you my "twelve years faithful attachment, and twelve "wounds received in your service; it will make "you recollect your former confinement at "court, and that the hand which now addresses "these lines to you broke the bars of your prison; and has disinterestedly served you, unbenefited by you, uncorrupted either by "your enemies or by yourself. I hereby recommend you to the favour of God, by "whom I hope my past services will be accepted; and that my future actions will be such "as shall convince you that by losing me you "have lost a faithful and an useful servant*."

Having sent off this letter, he set forward on his journey; with an intention to take leave

* Ibid. p. 51.

of his friends in Poictou, and sell his estate in that province, to enable him to proceed to the Palatinate. Passing through Agen, in order to visit an old lady who had shewn him much friendship in some of his distresses, and to whom he wished to return his thanks before he left the kingdom; he found there a spaniel, formerly a great favourite with the king of Navarre, and accustomed to lie on his bed. The poor creature, now neglected, and almost famished, fawned upon and caressed him, in a manner that touched him so much, that he boarded it with a woman in the town; and caused to be engraven on his collar the following lines:

Le fidele Citron qui couchoit Autrefois
Sur votre lit sacré, couche ores sur la dure;
C'est ce fidele Citron qui appris de nature
A faire des amis & des traitres le choix,

C'est lui qui les brigands effrayoit de sa voix,
Des dents les assassins; d'ou vient donc qu'il endure
La faim, le froid, les coups, les dedains & l'injure?
Payement coutumier du service des Rois.

Sa fierté, sa beauté, sa jeunesse agreable,
Le fit cherir de vous; mais il fut redoutable,
A vos haineux; au fens, pour sa dexterité.

Courtisans qui jettez vos dedaigneuses vues
Sur ce chien delaissé, mort de faim par les rues,
Attendez ce loyer de la fidelité.

The king of Navarre passing through Agen the next day, the dog was carried to him; the collar drew his attention, and on reading the verses he changed colour, and was much disconcerted. But it was not the greatest mortification he received on D'Aubigné's account;

 for

for ſome time after, the huguenots having held a general aſſembly at St. Foix, the deputies of Languedoc aſked him, "where was D'Aubigné, "who had ſaved their province? and what he "had done with ſo uſeful a ſervant of God?" He replied, that "he ſtill conſidered him as his, "and would take care to recall him about his "perſon *."

Becomes enamoured of mademoiſelle de Lezay.

BUT to return to D'Aubigné, whom we left on his journey; which proved much ſhorter than he intended. Paſſing in his road through the town of St. Gelais, he caſt his eyes up to a window where ſat mademoiſelle de Lezay; whoſe beauty made ſo inſtantaneous a conqueſt of his heart, that he thought no more of the Palatinate; proceeding no further than to the houſe of his friends meſſieurs de St. Gelais, and de la Boulaye: like a true knight errant, more ardent than ever in the purſuit of glory, in order to recommend himſelf to the object of his new conceived paſſion; and from a deſire to render himſelf neceſſary to his party, and at the ſame time give his ungrateful maſter reaſon to regret the loſs of ſuch a ſervant. Nor was he likely to wait long for an opportunity of entering into action, the laſt peace proving as unſtable as all the former †.

1578. Hoſtilities commence.

HOSTILITIES commenced with the new year; the catholics ſeized Villeneuf and Agen, towns belonging to the huguenots. In Languedoc the war had never ceaſed. Marſhal D'Amville having refuſed to ſuffer the troops monſieur de Chatillon had collected, to return to their reſpective places, though that liberty was allowed them

* Ibid. p. 52. † Ibid. p. 53.

by

by the treaty of peace *, they divided into two parties; one of which fixing at Bruguerolles, the other at Tezan, they raiſed contributions on the parts adjacent, took priſoners, and carried on a war neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; living under an uncommon kind of regulation. The numbers in each place conſiſted of about 400. They all eat in one common hall; at the head of the table ſat the captain and the miniſter (or chaplain); at the bottom two lieutenants; and the other officers were ſeated at certain diſtances, with the common ſoldiers between them. They were all clad in the ſame cloth, no diſtinction being allowed to the officers in any particular, but that the chief captains wore a ſmall gold chain round their necks, and the others a red ſtring to their caps. They were continually in action, and harraſſed the catholic armies in that province, eſpecially marſhal D'Amville's, to ſo great a degree, that they almoſt deſtroyed them; and although the towns they dwelt in were unfortified, no one ventured to attack them; awed by their ſuperior courage, and by an apprehenſion that they were protected by de Chatillon †.

August. Conference between the queen mother and the king of Navarre.

The king of Navarre having ſent an envoy to the court to demand his wife, the queen mother took advantage of the opportunity, and under pretence of reſtoring her to her huſband, accompanied her into Guyenne. But the views of Catherine de Medicis were never confined to ſimple ceremonials. She was very deſirous of detaching the king of Navarre from the huguenots; but ſhould ſhe fail therein, ſhe thought it

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 68.
† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 333.

possible to cajole him into a restitution of the places of security granted to his party, before the time specified by the treaty; and was so well skilled in the art of sowing discord, that she did not doubt finding means to distress him, by increasing the dissentions which necessarily divided a court, composed of persons whose interests and inclinations were so diametrically opposite. But whatever dependence she might have on her political arts, she fortified herself with her usual auxiliaries; not practiced statesmen, nor grey-headed politicians, but handsome young women, whose eyes spoke a language more prevailing than the eloquence of the most sublime orator, to a court where gallantry filled all the hours that were not passed in the field of battle. She always had in her train several of the most alluring, whose task it was by captivating the heart, to pry into the secret views of their admirers, and then to betray them. They were sometimes directed, by feigning a reciprocal attachment, to draw men of consequence off from their party; at others, by dividing their favors to excite a jealousy that broke the friendship of those most intimately connected. The use she made of these syrens was well known, and many had had fatal experience of it; but the pleasure of being deceived still ensured her success; and unlike most of the arts of the cunning, her's were not less availing for having been discovered. To this interview she brought two of her attendants, who had served her effectually while the king of Navarre was her prisoner, by reconciling him too long to his confinement, and betraying to her every token of his discontent; but on this occasion they were supplanted in his favour by two others of her train, who, if not pos-

possessed of more beauty, had at least the additional charm of novelty. Nothing but so extraordinary a reinforcement of beauty and coquetry, could have made the king of Navarre's court more gallant than it usually was, but thus recruited, pleasure appeared the only business; entertainments of every kind were invented; and followed each other in quick succession. Even the oldest men at the court became the votaries of Cupid; those who were grown grey in the profession of the long robe, and ancient officers, disfigured with scars, and maimed by a multitude of wounds, sighed at the feet of the fair, and forgot they were no longer qualified to excite a reciprocal passion. Among these antiquated lovers, the governor of la Reole, named Ussac, was particularly distinguished, by the consequences of his passion. From his earliest youth he had not been less remarkable for prudence, sobriety, a judicious and regular conduct, than for valour, and had been proposed for an example to all his young cotemporaries; but in age he could not withstand the contagion of that court, where the very air seemed infected with gallantry: he was far advanced in years when the queen mother took this journey, but was rendered still older in infirmities and appearance, by the wounds he had received; his face was terribly scarred; and he had been so wounded in the mouth, that he could not speak without great difficulty. This man fell passionately in love with the most lively coquet in Catherine's train, and finding that the king of Navarrre, and the viscount de Turenne, very freely ridiculed so absurd an enamorato, with which it is probable the lady herself took care to acquaint him, to turn his resentment to her mistress's grand pur-

 pose,

pose, he was so violently piqued at it, that he delivered la Reole into the hands of monsieur de Duras, a man of the contrary party: giving Henry a strong proof that ridicule, which is always a dangerous weapon, generally recoiling on him that uses it, is more especially so in the hands of a prince, as by wounding more deeply it excites a keener resentment, and his situation gives the offended person opportunity of revenging himself by more important injuries.

The king of Navarre being engaged in a ball when this event was communicated to him in a whisper, he, and the viscount de Turenne, immediately left the room unperceived, taking with them as many of the officers as could be spared, without interrupting the festivity of the night. They concealed their arms under a hunting dress; and marching with diligence, early in the morning arrived at Fleurance, and made themselves masters of the town without any difficulty; to the great surprize of the queen mother, who had not suspected their absence, but could more easily forgive Henry's having thus made reprisal, as the place was of less consequence than Reole *.

In whatever amusements the queen mother was engaged, she never lost sight of the point she aimed at: she made several attempts to persuade the king of Navarre to join her son; representing the dangers that threatened his succession to the crown from the enormous power of the Guises; she exaggerated the bad health

* Ibid. p. 335. Oeconom. Royal. de Sully, tom. i. p. 124. Mem. de Bouillon, p. 261.

of the duke of Anjou, which rendered this a matter of near concern to Henry; and hinted a poſſibility that her ſon the king might be forced into a compliance with the ambition of the Guiſes, whom he was not able of himſelf to reſiſt, every catholic prince being on their ſide, and leagued to prevent a heretic from aſcending the throne of France †. She alſo tried every means of prevailing with him to give up the cautionary towns; pretended an earneſt deſire to ſettle all the controverted articles of the treaty of peace, and to conclude a perfect agreement. In this particular the king of Navarre ſeemed to concur with her, and each was inclined to carry on the negotiation, while neither was very earneſt to ſee it concluded. She wiſhed to prolong her ſtay, as it forwarded her purpoſes; and Henry was glad to detain her, that he might the longer enjoy the company of the two ladies with whom he (not being a very ſentimental lover) was at once enamoured. While theſe two principal perſons of adverſe parties lived together in great ſeeming amity, each ſide was continually committing hoſtilities, and taking every opportunity of cutting off ſmall companies of their adverſaries troops, or ſurprizing towns and caſtles. It had indeed been agreed that a truce ſhould be obſerved for a league and a half, or two leagues, round the place where the king of Navarre's court happened to be (for he had not fixed his reſidence in any one place) but the ſame perſons who within thoſe bounds behaved with all the complaiſance of courtiers, if they met beyond thoſe precincts

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 335.

attacked each other with the rage of the most implacable enemies.

CATHERINE's art in sowing discord at length appeared; producing an enmity between the king of Navarre and prince of Condé, and between the latter and the viscount de Turenne, which went so far that the prince challenged the viscount; but the affair was accommodated. She was still more gratified by a quarrel she had fomented between the viscount and Monf. de Rozan, which occasioned a duel, wherein the viscount took the baron de Salignac for his second, and Rozan Monf. de Duras his brother. The two former had the advantage; but the viscount permitting Rozan to rise from the ground after he had him down, and the baron suffering Duras to change his sword, instantly about sixteen men, part of whom belonged to Duras, and the rest to the queen, rushing from a place of concealment fell upon the viscount, and after giving him twenty-two wounds left him, as they believed, dead, but happily none of the wounds were mortal †.

THE queen mother having set so many of the adverse party at variance, and gained over Monf. de Laverdin, and some others, she took leave of the king of Navarre, and went to Montauban to be present at an assembly of the huguenots: but as she did not expect much benefit from her ladies amongst severe religionists, and rough provincials, she took other

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 336. De Thou, tom. v. liv. 68. p. 603. Hist. du Duc de Bouillon, liv. 2. p. 94.

assist-

aſſiſtants, and hoped for better ſervice from the eloquence of Pibrac, and her own affected piety, and profeſſions of tender love for the people. In her diſcourſes ſhe interwove texts of ſcripture and ſuch pious expreſſions as ſhe thought likely to influence them; compoſing her diſcourſes over night, in confidential privacy with the ladies of her court, to whom it afforded much ſubject for mirth, and was called by them the language of Canaan *. But ſhe and her orator were equally unſucceſsful, the deputies heard them both unmoved; and the queen returned to court, diſappointed of all her views in the laſt part of her negotiations, though by ſome favourable conceſſions to the huguenots, ſhe had endeavoured to engage their confidence.

1579. February. The conference ends.

THE king of Navarre was then formally ſummoned to deliver up the cautionary towns; but having refuſed it, as the articles of the treaty were not yet performed, each ſide endeavoured to prepare againſt the renewal of war, which could not be far diſtant; if that can be ſaid to be renewed, which in fact had never ceaſed; though a nominal peace ſtill ſubſiſted. It had indeed prevented either ſide from taking arms openly, but each had been aſſiduous in ſeizing every advantage by ſurprize, or ſecret intelligence, that opportunity offered; and the ſpirit of enterprize led many into attempts that proved fatal to them. Among the unfortunate were the Sieurs de Princai and le Bouchet, two gentlemen of the province of Limouſin. An officer of the garriſon of Limoges, whoſe life they had often ſaved, by giving him refuge in their houſes,

D'Aubigné engaged in an enterprize on Limoges.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 337.

when

when by crimes he had rendered it forfeit to the laws, offered to deliver that town into their hands. They judged it neceſſary to commit the affair to one of the huguenot party, who had ſufficient credit and influence to procure all the requiſites for ſuch an expedition; and applied to le Sieur de la Boullaie, a man of great ſpirit and courage, and particularly favoured by the king of Navarre, as having been bred up under his protection.

La Boullaie not being of a temper to neglect an affair where honour might be acquired, or where ſervice might be rendered to the party, ſent for D'Aubigné, as more ſkilled in ſuch undertakings; and after Princai and le Bouchet had bound themſelves by oath to be entirely guided by him, the officer of Limoge, who had aſſumed the name of captain Le Mas, was brought to confer with him. D'Aubigné queſtioned him on three points; why he would ſell his country? how he could perform it? and what ſecurity he could give for his ſincerity? In anſwer to the firſt, Le Mas related the quarrels in which he was engaged with ſome of the principal citizens; and with proſecutions carried on againſt him; in conſequence of which he had been baniſhed, and ſince condemned to death; and all being teſtified by the gentlemen to be real fact, D'Aubigné, who had no intention to diſcourage a deſign which promiſed ſo much advantage, declared himſelf ſatisfied as to that point; and deſired him to proceed to the ſecond. Le Mas then told him that the gates of the city were not guarded, but that every night the chief conſul took a view of them all, or gave the keys to one of his friends, who went the round for him; that the

conſul

conſul and monſieur de Vertemond his friend, one of the principal citizens, were in the plot, being included in the criminal proſecutions with himſelf; that the night fixed on for the execution, the conſul would give a ſupper to D'Aubigné, and ſix or ſeven of his friends, who might bring ſome of his beſt ſoldiers under the diſguiſe of footmen; and the affair would be rendered ſo eaſy to them, that God alone could impede their ſucceſs. He then offered him for ſecurity himſelf or Vertemond, either of whom would deliver himſelf up as an hoſtage the night before the enterprize; and expatiated on the great number of citizens who would join them, the rich priſoners they would take, and the great booty that muſt fall into their hands from the plunder of the city.

D'Aubigne' declared himſelf well ſatisfied as to the two firſt points, but not at all as to the latter; which greatly offended his companions, who thought his ſuſpicions groundleſs; but Le Mas told them, they did not underſtand their true intereſt; he commended D'Aubigné's caution, and rejoiced that he had a man to deal with who ſo well underſtood thoſe affairs. D'Aubigné demanded a conference with the conſul and Vertemond; and a place was fixed upon where they were to meet him the Saturday following.

As D'Aubigné and his aſſociates approached the place of conference on the appointed day, he ſent a ſervant before to look into the town, to ſee if there were any women or children in the ſtreets; as a ſure method of diſcovering whether there was any ambuſcade laid for them. Le Mas coming out of the town to meet them, D'Aubigné, who was before his companions, clapped a piſtol

a piſtol to his breaſt, and with the fierceſt countenance he could aſſume, cried out, "Traitor, "thou dyeſt!" But Le Mas, not at all diſconcerted by the conſciouſneſs of evil intention, as the other imagined poſſible, told him, that would not do, he too well knew he had confidence in him to be frighted by ſuch a menace; and then, complaining they were come ſo late that the conſuls could not meet them; added, the cauſe would make amends for their abſence, for they were detained by a meſſenger from the catholics, who having got poſſeſſion of the town of Figeac, had ſent for their cannon to batter the citadel, and if they complied, it muſt be accompanied with 5 or 600 of the beſt ſoldiers of the garriſon: that the abſence of thoſe men would facilitate the enterprize, but the loſs of the cannon might prove an inconvenience when they had made themſelves maſters of the town; the two confederate conſuls therefore deſired him to tell them what he would have them do in the affair, as they did not doubt having ſufficient intereſt to govern the reſt of the citizens. D'Aubigné, for the benefit of the beſieged citadel, deſired the cannon might not be ſent; but ſtill inſiſted on a conference with the conſuls, which was again fixed at the diſtance of four days. D'Aubigné then drew up a plan of the method he intended to purſue, and of the means of drawing together from different places a body of 15 or 1600 choſen men; himſelf undertaking at the head of the forlorn hope the battle that muſt enſue within the town; and ſent it by La Valliere, a kinſman of Du Bouchet's, to the king of Navarre, deſiring it might be well conſidered; while he would go and hazard his life for the ſecurity of his companions. *He then went,

went into Limoges; and alighting at an inn in the fuburbs, fent a fervant for Le Mas, to whom he told that he was come to reconnoitre the town, and to get well acquainted with the feveral parts, and the avenues to it; defigning to pafs fome days there till the time of conference arrived; and as he had offered to introduce him to feveral very agreeable women, defired he would keep his word, and carry him into good company.

Le Mas approved D'Aubigné's intention; but obferving that it would not be proper to accompany him while he was reconnoitring the town, as it might be taken notice of, faid he would go to engage him an agreeable party againft the next day. D'Aubigné then purfuing his purpofe, had not gone far before he perceived one of the guards following him; and obferving the man's motions, faw evident proof that he was a fpy fet to watch him. This was fufficient to make him fufpect treachery; but as he thought it not his bufinefs to fhew his fufpicions, he took out his pocket-book, and drew, or pretended to draw, a plan of the town, that he might feem not to have the leaft fuppofition of being obferved; then took the fhorteft way to his inn in the fuburbs, with a defign of mounting his horfe and getting off with all fpeed: but Le Mas got there as foon as he did, and accofted him with great gaiety; upon which D'Aubigné (whofe prefence of mind never forfook him) taking him afide, told him that "he faw plainly all he had faid was "true, and that the town might indeed be taken "in the manner he had mentioned; begged par-"don for having entertained any fufpicions againft "him, but hoped he would excufe it, in confidera-"tion that the lives and honour of fo many men were

"were at ſtake; and promiſed he ſhould ſee no-
"thing like it for the future; as a proof of which
"he was by all means for haſtening the enter-
"prize; and inſtead of expecting him to deliver
"himſelf up as an hoſtage, deſired he would only
"give two of his footmen, which would ſerve to
"ſatisfy the prince of Condé, who intended to
"make one of the party; for that he was con-
"vinced he (Le Mas) would be of great uſe to
"them in the town on their approach."

Le Mas believing D'Aubigné was thoroughly duped, and hearing he ſhould have an opportunity of getting into his ſnare ſo conſiderable a perſon as the prince of Condé, broke off diſcourſe abruptly, pretending that the city gates were going to be ſhut, and that he would firſt ſtep home to give his family notice not to expect him that night, and return immediately; and then went directly to the ſoldiers on guard. As he left the room, ſome officers came in diſguiſed like tradeſmen, ſome with books, others with mercery, and ſuch kind of things to ſell; of whom D'Aubigné bought, without having the leaſt inclination to purchaſe; but as more ſtill entered, and the room filled, Le Mas came in, and whiſpering one of them as he paſſed, ſent them all back into the town, telling them the gates were going to be ſhut. Above forty men were by that time gathered together at the gates, with the provoſt of the town at their head; but Le Mas going to them, and repeating what D'Aubigné had ſaid to him, deſcribing the perfect confidence in which he appeared; and the ſpy who had dogged him having aſſured them that D'Aubigné had ſo little ſuſpicion of being obſerved, that he had in his view drawn a plan of

of the place, they readily agreed that it would be imprudent to lose so great a prize as they had reason to expect, by doing any thing at that time; and therefore very peaceably drew up the bridge, and returned.

THE drawing up of the bridge gave great joy to D'Aubigné, who after talking for some time to Le Mas with mirth and gaiety, and seeming eagerness to hasten the enterprize, brought him by degrees to approve of his returning that night, in order to quicken the preparations.

WHEN he got back to the Sieurs de Bouchet and de Princai, and related what had passed, they treated his suspicions with great contempt, but he gave them such cogent reasons to believe they were deceived, represented so strongly the improbability that men so considerable in rank and fortune as the chief consul and Vertemond, should unite themselves with so great a villain as Le Mas, and should hazard their lives, their honour, and their fortunes to ruin their country, without any prospect of advantage, that they promised to hold no farther correspondence with Le Mas, except in D'Aubigné's presence; and to bring the traitor to condign punishment.

D'AUBIGNE' was obliged by business that called him another way, to leave that place directly; and after he was gone, the two young gentlemen, recollecting all Le Mas's promises; the reasons he gave for the action; his seeming sincerity; and the obligations he had to them; they again blamed their too cautious conductor; and determined to examine into the state of the town themselves. They went to the same inn where

where he had been; were ſhewn into the ſame room; the ſame diſguiſed officers came to them; and Le Mas having ſecured their ſwords, which they had put in the corner of the room, the pretended tradeſmen ſeized them, and the next day they were beheaded; Le Mas having found out before they came that D'Aubigné had diſcovered his treachery *.

HAD D'Aubigné ſo freely ventured his life only on ſuch occaſions as theſe, it would have been allowed truly heroic; but to hazard it in private duels, deſerved ſevere cenſure rather than honour, though the cuſtoms of that age may in ſome meaſure excuſe it. He had no ſooner eſcaped the treachery of Le Mas, than he expoſed himſelf to a danger that could produce no benefit. Monſ. de la Boulaie, talking with the Sieur de la Magdelaine, of his former quarrel with D'Aubigné, he acknowledged that ſome of his friends had endeavoured to bring on a duel between them without any reaſon. La Boulaie, then young and ſpirited, and ſtrongly infected with the falſe honour of the times, told him, that, if he wiſhed to have a trial of ſkill with his friend, he would bring them ſword in hand together. This being reported to D'Aubigné, he would not appear backward in what was then (I wiſh I could ſay the error was confined to that age) eſteemed an affair of honour; and which he thought particularly neceſſary to his reputation, as Magdelaine was accounted the moſt able ſwordſman of his time, enjoying the ſavage credit of having killed eight gentlemen in ſingle combat, without being once

* Ibid. p. 344.

wounded;

wounded; he therefore wrote to La Boulaye to invite La Magdelaine to lie a night at his houſe, and to conduct him the next morning, towards the road between Barbaſte and Nerac, where he would meet him, and fight La Magdelaine in his ſhirt, with ſword and dagger. He ſet out poſt for the place appointed; and received anſwer from La Boulaye that La Magdelaine accepted the challenge, and he would accompany him to the place of aſſignation. The affair thus agreed upon, D'Aubigné roſe very early, and after having ſaid his prayers very devoutly, and breakfaſted well, he proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where after waiting half an hour, he ſaw two gentlemen riding towards him; one of whom being La Boulaye, as ſoon as he ſaw D'Aubigné he ſpurred his horſe into a gallop, calling out, when he came within diſtance to be heard, "A miracle and "no battle!" informing him that at midnight La Magdelaine was deprived of the uſe of his limbs; upon which D'Aubigné cried out, "There is the effect of my prayers!" It muſt appear ſtrange to a ſober mind, that a man ſhould ſuppoſe thoſe prayers could be availing, which were preparative to a deliberate intention of killing another, or expoſing himſelf to be killed, out of an idle bravado: but honour has its bigots as well as religion; and D'Aubigné might juſtly be charged with more bigotry in the former than in the latter, though perhaps not abſolutely free from it in either *.

The king of Navarre had been ſo often reproached by the huguenots for his neglect,

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 55.

(to call it by no harsher term) of D'Aubigné; and was so much mortified by the defection of some of the persons he had most favoured, that he began to wish for him again about his person; a wish increased by the several noble actions performed by D'Aubigné, which were reported to him, and with pleasure related by him to his courtiers. Actuated by this inclination he wrote him four letters, at different times; but D'Aubigné's haughty spirit retained too much resentment to suffer him even to read them. Not daring to trust himself with the perusal of what was written by a prince he still loved, and therefore feared might influence him more than he believed it ought, he threw the letters all into the fire. But being told that the king, on hearing he was taken prisoner in the enterprize on Limoges, had set apart some of the queen's rings for his ransom; and that being afterwards informed he was beheaded there, he was so much afflicted as even to lose his rest, his heart, too noble not to be grateful, melted; and though deaf to the calls of interest, he was not proof against those tokens of affection; and determined to return to a prince who certainly had used him ill †: though D'Aubigné himself was not to be justified, since even sincerity, the strongest attachment, and fidelity, will not excuse a failure in decent respect to persons in that exalted state, wherein this excellent man appears sometimes deficient; and though Henry's natural temper enabled him to bear more than any other prince would have permitted, yet his distressed situation ought to have rendered his servants particularly careful to avoid taking undue liberties,

† Ibid. p. 54.

left they might be suspected of ungenerously presuming upon it; for it is a more especial duty not to give reasonable cause of offence to a man who cannot resent it without great detriment to himself. To challenge a man who has not the use of above half his limbs would be deemed cowardly; to insult one who from the precarious state of his fortunes is not at liberty to retaliate, is a more cruel sort of cowardice, as it is more painful to restrain the emotions of just indignation, than to submit to the consequences of a natural debility of body. Some excuse for D'Aubigné, and other of Henry's servants may be drawn from the character of the times; we must not judge their words by the delicate criterion of modern politeness; refinement had not then banished sincerity from conversation; and truths were suffered to approach the throne, which would sound very harsh and uncouth to most princes in the present age. But even then frankness had its just bounds, and ought not to have degenerated into rudeness.

D'Aubigné returns to court.

We have a strong instance of the too great freedom then taken even by inferior persons. On D'Aubigné's return to the king of Navarre, he sent before him, to give notice of his approach, a young man named de Court; who had first belonged to him, and by him been recommended to the king of Navarre for his valet de chambre; but on D'Aubigné's disgrace he left the king, being determined to share the fortunes of his first master. As Henry knew him again, he asked from whence he came? De Court answered, Yes; the king put several more questions; to all which he made the same answer;

 it

it being remarked that this word did not well agree with the questions asked him, he replied it was very true, but he thought it proper to avoid using any other, as he had observed that honest men lost the favour of princes by not saying Yes on every occasion. All the young nobility of that court came out to meet D'Aubigné: the king received him with great marks of affection, and the most gracious promises. Soon after his arrival, Henry being doubtful whether to take up arms directly, or wait for farther provocation, consulted only with the viscount de Turenne, Messrs. Favas, Constant, and D'Aubigné; among whom three were equally desirous of war, and from much the same motives, which sprung rather from love, than from any good political reasons.

The queen of Navarre, fired with resentment against the king her brother, who had not treated her well while she resided at his court; and after she returned to the king of Navarre, had written to him strong intimations of her entertaining a criminal commerce with Mons. de Turenne, was very desirous of renewing hostilities; but as she had not much interest with her husband, she copied her mother's art, and influenced a young girl who was then Henry's favourite mistress, to practise the lessons she gave her for that purpose; repeating, perhaps inventing, the most contemptuous expressions made use of by her brother, and the Guises, when they spoke of Henry; and trying by every means to exasperate him against them †. She made the same use of the mistresses of many

† Vie de la Noue, p. 255.

noble-

noblemen of the court to incline them likewiſe to war. She herſelf condeſcended to gain over Monſ. de Turenne; and though D'Aubigné's love, not being of the ſame kind, nor fixed on any of the ladies of the court, who were an eaſy prey to their lovers, and eaſy dupes to the queen, ſhe had not the ſame means of influencing him, yet his ardour to recommend himſelf to mademoiſelle de Lezay by in increaſe of reputation; and his inclination to a military life, made him of the ſame opinion. Monſ. de Favas, who alone was governed by reaſon, was the only one that oppoſed it; alledging the weakneſs of their party, and the ſtrength of the other; who, though divided among themſelves, would unite on the appearance of a common enemy. On the contrary, the continuance of peace, or ſomething like it, would widen the breach between the leaguers and the king of France's party, as their diſſentions daily increaſed. Arguments directed to reaſon were not likely to prevail with thoſe whoſe reaſon was little conſulted in the affair; and notwithſtanding all de Favas could urge, a war was determined, which from the motive, received the appellation of the Lover's War; and D'Aubigné was ſent into the provinces of Perigort, Saintonge, Angoumois, Poictou, Bretagne, and Anjou, to diſpoſe the huguenots to take up arms *.

Preparations made for the war, called the lovers war.

D'Aubigné diſpatched into the provinces.

He fell ſick at St. Jean d'Angeli; but that could not prevent his complying with an invitation from La Boulaie, to join in an enterprize he meditated on the town of Montagu. De

1580. Is engaged in taking Montagu.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 346.

Pommieres, a Gascogne officer, had cultivated an intimacy with some soldiers of the garrison of Montagu, who from the habit of plundering were become little better than highway robbers, and was invited by them to join in a robbery on the road to Nantz. By the advice of La Boulaie and D'Aubigné, he accepted the party; and with them took 200 crowns from a merchant who was travelling that way; but which were afterwards restored to him. De Pommieres then advised his companions not to expose their lives for such small booty, as those actions were as liable to be discovered, and would be as severely punished as if they were more considerable; but telling them of a rich tradesman, who in his return from the fair of Fontenai always took up his lodging near his house, promised to inform them when he should arrive. At the proper time he sent them a notification of the man's being come, with three more tradesmen; observing, that it would therefore be necessary that their numbers should be equal. The expectation of so good a prize determined the captain, who commanded in the castle, to be of the party, bringing five more with him. As they were laying in wait for their expected prey, they were surrounded by near a dozen of De Pommiere's men, and being secured till the next night, were threatened with death if they did not procure the postern gate to be opened, in the same manner as was usual for themselves when out on such excursions. Their danger was too great to suffer them to refuse; they gave the watch word, and by the use of it La Boulaye's company gained admission, and seized the castle without any trouble; but La Boulaie was much surprized to find that out of the number he had invited to the enter-

enterprize, he had only ſixteen aſſiſtants. The town ſtill remained to be taken, which was full of people, and had above ſixty perſons in it who knew the uſe of arms; but truſting to the concealment of the night, he made the attempt, judging that were his numbers known, all hope of ſucceſs muſt vaniſh; and the ignorance of the citizens proved ſo favourable to him, that they almoſt all fled, and left an empty town; which, with his ſmall numbers, it was more difficult for La Boullaie to keep, than to conquer *.

As the citizens of Rochelle had refuſed to concur in the war, offended with the king of Navarre for commencing it, in their opinions imprudently, and without neceſſity; the people of the country imagined that the party which had ſeized Montagu, had nothing more in view than to defend themſelves againſt the citizens of Limoges; who, offended at the attempt they made on that town, had ſent officers of juſtice about the country to ſeize them; after having condemned and executed them in effigy. If this opinion made the enemy leſs vigilant in attacking them, it alſo prevented others from joining them; and after having paſſed a fortnight there, they had not been able to get 30 men together. It became neceſſary to conſult on their future conduct; the greateſt number propoſed to conduct themſelves, as they termed it, with prudence, avoiding all acts of hoſtility, to prevent giving their neighbours any provocation to form an attack which they were little able to repel. D'Aubigné and La Valliere only oppoſed this plan, ſaying, " Either let us quit the place like cowards, who

* Ibid. p. 349. De Thou, tom. vi. liv. 72. p. 7.

"have committed a foolish action; or let us "make war to the utmost of our power; and "for that purpose collect soldiers; who will "never come to take a part in our prudent con- "duct, to which they will give no better name "than cowardice: What man of character will "unite himself to people who he supposes are "only defending themselves against the hang- "man?" But this opinion was over-ruled by a majority of voices, and six weeks more were spent in a peaceable manner, without their having been able to increase their numbers to above 36 effective men; while the catholic troops in that neighbourhood made it a practice to march round the town, insulting those who were in it by shaking cords at them, as a menace of the fate to which they were destined. Some of the gentlemen in the town had sent part of their horses to Rochelle to be sold there, ordering that provisions should be purchased with the money; but the magistrates, determining to keep the peace, not only prevented the sale, but imprisoned the venders; and though the ministers and the inferior citizens had forcibly set them at liberty, yet they returned back without bringing any supply. It then became necessary to follow the advice of D'Aubigné and La Valliere; who leaving in the place only La Boullaie, and five other gentlemen, with the menial servants of the whole party, divided their 30 men into three corps, and with them took three different roads to Nantz, on a market day; and when they reached the place of rendezvous where they were again to unite, they found their numbers increased to 60; and that they had taken as many prisoners. They carried their plunder to Montagu, and only waiting to change horses, set

ſet out again; and beſide pillaging the villages in their way, burnt ſix or ſeven churches; which ſo much increaſed the reputation of the ſtrength of their party, that within ten days after, their numbers roſe to 1400; and the catholics durſt no longer inſult them.

The government within the town was given to La Boullaie, and a proper number of ſoldiers appointed for its defence; but the whole garriſon bound themſelves by oath to obey D'Aubigné without the walls of the city. He firſt led his men againſt St. George's, which the catholics had begun to fortify, and forced them to relinquiſh the attempt. He then took the caſtle of l'Abergement, ſcaled the caſtle of Montagu, and the town of Garnache; and took the caſtle. The great readineſs ſhewn by the garriſon of Montagu to undertake any enterprize, induced three catholic officers, named Nivaudiere, Turtrie, and Laleu, to offer to betray into their hands the town of Blaye. Theſe men, bred up in the houſe of the Baron d'Hervaux, then governor of Blaye, having received ſome offence from him, came to La Boullaie, and made him the propoſal. He referred them to D'Aubigné; to whom they told, that having been lately at Blaye, being all intimate with, and one of them related to Villiers, who commanded there as lieutenant to the baron, they had obſerved that there never were more than eight ſoldiers in the little caſtle, and thoſe not choſen with particular care; and that they three could without difficulty ſeize it, if they were ſure of receiving due, and timely, aſſiſtance. They added, that in converſing with Villiers they had excited in him ſome inclination to embrace the king of Navarre's cauſe, if he could

Storms the Caſtle of l'Abergement.

Scales the Caſtle of Montagu, and Garnache.

could obtain an advantageous post with some of the reformed chiefs.

D'Aubigne' not having the same difficulty in believing them, as in giving credit to captain Le Mas, agreed to join in the undertaking; only advised that they should begin by endeavouring to gain Villiers; but if they found him changed in his way of thinking, to take care of their lives, and of the execution of their enterprize, for that he would not fail one minute of the time appointed, as he would sooner die than break his word; and La Boulaie having assured them with the strongest asseverations of his friend's truth and punctuality, they delayed fixing the time of execution, only till they had concerted their measures more maturely.

Disappoints some attempts on Montagu.

The prosecution of this affair was retarded by the care necessary to frustrate two attempts on Montagu; the first undertaken at the instigation of a gentleman of the garrison, named de Butterie, who being in love with the sister of a principal officer in the troops of the league in Poictou, had agreed to purchase his mistress by betraying Montagu to the leaguers; engaging with the assistance of four soldiers whom he had corrupted, to cut the throats of the guards of the castle, at two o'clock in the morning, if the catholic army would be ready on the spot to assist him, when he should throw over the wall the bodies of the murdered guards. In the evening D'Aubigné discovering by De Butterie's countenance that his mind was in great agitation, and perceiving that he had a coat of mail under his cloaths, suspected there was some treachery on foot; and ordered him to chuse out six stout men, and to get privately

vately out of the poſtern gate, keeping ready for further orders. A relation of De Butterie, with proper aſſiſtants, was there to ſeize him; who brought him to confeſs his deſign, and that four of the ſix men were the perſons engaged with him to betray the place. Having learnt from him the ſignals the conſpirators were to make, La Boulaie ordered they ſhould all be performed; accordingly they made the appointed noiſe againſt a grate, lighted fires on the top of the dungeon; and when the army arrived, they ſtabbed the four treacherous ſoldiers, and caſt them down from the top of the caſtle. De Butterie being faſtened by a ſtring tied to his foot, walked about in ſight of the enemy's troop encouraging them; ſome of the garriſon made an appearance of ſcaling the caſtle walls; and every means was taken to perſuade the enemy that the deſign was executed: but whether De Butterie had not acquainted La Boulaie with all the ſignals, or that they ſaw other reaſons to doubt the truth of the farce that was acting, they would not approach; and when the garriſon found they could not entrap them, they precipitated De Butterie likewiſe from the top of the caſtle.

The other enterprize was formed by the governor of the caſtle, who had a great ſhare in taking it; but being offered by marſhal de Retz 50,000 francs if he would deliver it up to him, he could not reſiſt the ſum. This likewiſe being diſcovered in time, the traitor was ſtabbed before he could put it in execution *.

After theſe affairs were over, the deſign on Blaye was reſumed; and it was agreed, that D'Au- Fails in an enterprize on Blaye.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 359.

D'Aubigné ſhould take with him 40 gentlemen from Montagu, and 80 muſketeers; that the three perſons who had engaged to ſeize the caſtle ſhould go with him as far as St. Jean d'Angeli, and there quitting him, repair to Blaye; while D'Aubigné prepared the troops in that part of the country, where he had good intereſt, to be on the counterſcarp the firſt Wedneſday in July, exactly at ſix o'clock in the evening. The three conſpirators promiſed to throw the dead bodies of ſuch of the garriſon as they ſhould have ſlain, over the wall, and even the lieutenant governor if he refuſed to join them; and that one of the three would deſcend from the baſtion before the caſtle, as an hoſtage. The laſt article was ſatiſfactory, the firſt was but little regarded, in conſideration of what had ſo lately paſſed at Montagu.

Nivaudiere, one of the conſpirators, fell ſick at Angouleſme; the other two proceeding on their way, were taken priſoners and carried to Pons, a town belonging to the huguenots. D'Aubigné, with part of his troop, haſtened thither; and offering to pay 200 crowns for the ranſom of the priſoners, the captain aſked his pardon for the unlucky action he had performed, by which he found he had prevented, or poſtponed, the greateſt ſervice that could have been rendered to their cauſe: a compliment by no means agreeable to D'Aubigné, as it ſhewed him the captain was too well acquainted with what was going forward, wherein ſecreſy was ſo neceſſary. It was immediately reported at Pons, and in all the adjacent parts, that ſome men were taken, who were going to ſeize by ſurprize the town of Blaye; and the governor of St. Jean d'An-

d'Angeli wrote word, that he did not chuſe to lend any of his men for an enterprize already diſcovered.

In the mean time Nivaudiere, having erco-vered from his ſickneſs, and arrived at Blaye, wrote to the two priſoners to agree for their ranſom, and that Villiers, who had heard of their being taken, would pay it; that he had never thought the affair ſo eaſy as he then found it; and that the only alteration neceſſary in the plan they had agreed upon, was to delay the execution for eight days.

On the receipt of this letter the conſpirators bound themſelves by the moſt horrid oaths to perform their engagement; and ſtrongly ſolicited D'Aubigné to proceed in the enterprize. He repreſented to them the danger they muſt incur in entering the caſtle, after a rumour had been ſpread of their intention to betray it; but they declared Villiers's partiality for them to be ſo great, that they might betray him ten times before he would once believe it. Villiers's acknowledged friendſhip for them gave D'Aubigné more apprehenſion than confidence, as it rendered their villainy in betraying him almoſt too great to be believed. But ſome gentlemen, powerful in that province, encouraged him to proceed. Monſieur D'Uſſon, governor of Pons, and the governor of St. Jean D'Angeli, refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance; but the garriſons came to him without the conſent of their governors; upon which D'Uſſon joined him. When they approached the town, a thick miſt prevented them from ſeeing the ſignal agreed on with the conſpirators, which damped the ardour of

of D'Aubigné's troops, and many preſſed him to relinquiſh the enterprize: but having engaged his word, he would not liſten to them; and as it afterwards appeared, the conſpirators performed their part.

Laleu and Turtrie had no ſooner returned into the town, than advices came from all parts of their treachery, and the forces which were marching againſt Blaye; every hour brought letters to Villiers, acquainting him with it; which he, not being able to read, gave to Turtrie, who read what he pleaſed to him. The people of the town being leſs infatuated, took arms, and preſſed Villiers to do the ſame; but his confidence in thoſe villains was ſo implicit, that all information proved to no purpoſe.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the day agreed upon, Turtrie ſitting down by Villiers, reminded him of the diſpoſition he had ſhewn to enter into the king of Navarre's ſervice; but Villiers having anſwered that he was far from intending any ſuch thing, Turtrie drew his poniard and ſtabbed him. Nivaudiere and Laleu at the ſame time killed the three men who guarded the gate; and of three that then only remained in the fort, they confined two in a vault, and the other, being an old intimate of the conſpirators, promiſed to join with them in the enterprize. At noon the ſoldiers and people of the town receiving intelligence that a body of the enemies troops were marching towards them, went to the caſtle, but were refuſed admittance, under pretence of a ſuſpicion that they deſigned to betray it. On receiving this anſwer they endeavoured to ſtorm it, but the four men in the caſtle defended them-

themſelves ſo well that the attempt failed. The aſſailants having been re-inforced from ſome neighbouring towns, were beginning at five o'clock to renew the attack, when freſh accounts of the near approach of the enemy making them fear leſt the ſuburbs ſhould be pillaged, they laid aſide their firſt intention, and applied themſelves to put the ſuburbs into as good a ſtate of defence as the time would permit; for which buſineſs they had but an hour; D'Aubigné and his troop arriving preciſely at ſix o'clock.

The affair not wearing a very promiſing appearance, D'Aubigné was ſeverely reproached for bringing ſo many brave men into danger, merely to gratify the mad ambition which blinded him to the event. Equally averſe to hazard the lives of others unneceſſarily, or to break the engagement into which he had entered, he ſtole unperceived from his troops, and advanced alone within ſhot from the garriſon, to endeavour to ſeize one of a few ſoldiers who were at ſome diſtance from the reſt, in order to learn from him what had paſſed, and the real ſtate of the town. To get to him he jumped over a ditch which few horſes would have ventured to leap; but the ſoldier reſiſted ſo obſtinately, that even the fear of immediate death could not prevail on him to go with D'Aubigné. At his return he found the reſt of the officers determined to give up the enterprize, being perſuaded that the garriſon and people of the town, would not have thought of fortifying the ſuburbs, had they been under any apprehenſions for the caſtle. D'Aubigné hereupon, turning to the ſoldiers, cried out, "Let thoſe who came "here

" here for my ſake follow me; I have pledged " my honour, and my life muſt go to redeem " it:" and alighted from his horſe; a great part of the troops did the ſame, and marched towards the ſuburbs. He ordered that his baggage ſhould follow him, but unfortunately omitted to ſpecify two ſcaling ladders which he had brought with him. He forced the three different intrenchments that had been made, and being arrived at the place where he had promiſed to advance to the aſſiſtance of the conſpirators, and no longer able to ſupport the weight of his helmet and buckler, he laid them down till he had taken breath, intending then to return, having kept his word, and believing, as the reſt of the party did, that the conſpirators had been diſcovered, and that no one remained in the caſtle. But finding himſelf too much expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, as ſoon as he was a little recovered, he began to put on his helmet again, when Nivaudiere called to him, and deſired he would not put himſelf to any inconvenient haſt in his proceedings, only by midnight to ſend a ladder to the baſtion, when one of them would deſcend by it, and in the mean time they would throw down the body of the lieutenant governor.

D'Aubigne' now found the want of the ladders; and promiſed two hundred crowns to two of his men if they would fetch them. Some of the ſoldiers of the town had fortified themſelves on the counterſcarp, in order to ſcale the caſtle; but D'Aubigné's troops forced them from the poſt juſt as the ladders were brought; when he, ſeeing all obſtructions removed, cried out, He was king of Blaye! But a panic at that inſtant ſeizing the conſpirators, Laleu, and then Nivaudiere,

diere, came down, and throwing away their arms, jumped into the ditch that ſurrounded the caſtle, and from thence ran with their utmoſt ſpeed to a body of horſe which had been placed about eight hundred paces diſtant, to ſupport the enterprize. Immediately after them came Turtrie, with the keys of the caſtle in his hand, and curſing the fears of his companions, offered to reaſcend the baſtion. With his aſſiſtance D'Aubigné was continuing the attempt, but the ſoldier, who to ſave his life had agreed to join the conſpirators, had ſhut the poſtern gate of the baſtion; and with ſome aſſiſtants, whom he had admitted, fired ſo briſkly upon them, that D'Aubigné found nothing remained to be done but to carry off their dead and wounded companions. Had the ladders been ready when D'Aubigné firſt reached the caſtle, he would have compleated his undertaking, before the time that the conſpirators were ſeized with ſo ſtrange a panic; and in his memoirs he blames himſelf very ſeverely for his negligence in that omiſſion *.

One of the moſt odious circumſtances attending a military life, eſpecially in civil wars, which conſiſt more in ſtratagem and ſurprizal of places, than in pitched battles, is the neceſſity of treating and aſſociating with villains, from whom alone can be expected thoſe advantages, which on both ſides are ſo aſſiduouſly ſought after; and it is difficult to conceive any wretches more deteſtable than the three men that undertook to betray the caſtle of Blaye; who not only were willing to ſacrifice the intereſts of the party to which

* Ibid. p. 363. Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 58.

they belonged, but a friend whoſe confidence in them was ſo entire, that no evidence could perſuade him of their treachery, and who offered to pay the ranſom of the very man who ſo ſoon after ſhed his blood. Such actions as theſe, repreſent the miſeries of war in more horrid colours than a field of battle, covered with the mangled bodies of the dead.

WHEN the king of Navarre firſt determined to recommence hoſtilities, plans for the ſurprizal of above ſixty places were preſented to him, but none ſucceeded except thoſe on Montaigu and la Fere*. The greateſt action performed during the whole campaign was the taking of Cahors, a very ſtrong town, the capital of Quercy: the fight continued five days and nights; and that it was at laſt conquered, was owing to the courage and conduct of the king of Navarre, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner throughout the whole attack, as raiſed his character above that of any other general of his time. His people frequently urged him to abandon the enterprize, but as that could not be done without ſacrificing great part of his troops, he reſolutely perſiſted, declaring, "he had rather die with his "friends, than live after they had periſhed in "his cauſe:" and another time, when preſſed to ſelect a body of men with whom to open to himſelf a way to retreat, with a chearful and ſpirited countenance, though ſmarting with the wounds he had received, and worn down with fatigue, he replied, "What ſhall befall me on this occaſion is written above: Be aſſured that my "retreat out of this city without having taken

Cahors taken.

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 80.

"it,

"it, would be more irkſome to me than the "retreat of my ſoul out of this body. My "honour is too much engaged to ſuffer me to "act otherwiſe than I do; let no one therefore "propoſe any thing to me but conqueſt or death."

THERE were above two thouſand ſoldiers in the town, beſide the citizens, whom de Veſins, the governor, kept conſtantly under arms; Henry had only about one thouſand five hundred; and was under great diſadvantage in having ſo many intrenchments to force, and being continually annoyed by ſtones, and logs of wood thrown from the tops of the houſes. Even night brought no ceſſation; nor had he a ſufficient number of men to enable him to allow them alternate reſt. No one durſt quit his arms even for an inſtant, neither move from his poſt; what nouriſhment they took was eaten with their arms in their hands; and the only reſt they could have was by leaning againſt the ſhops for a few moments. Henry was preſent in every place where the greateſt danger threatened, ſharing the fatigue; expoſing his perſon as freely, and fighting as ardently as a common ſoldier; while with the preſence of mind and calm prudence of the moſt experienced general he directed all the operations, and ſeized with the utmoſt celerity every advantage that offered; but had not a reinforcement arrived, all Henry's courage and conduct might have proved ineffectual, from the exceſſive wearineſs of his men, who when they took the town had ſcarcely ſtrength left to pillage it*.

* Dav. lib. 6. p. 352. Oecon. roy. de Sully, tom. i. p. 134. Mem. de la reine Marguerite, p. 180.

 THE

The huguenots of the province of Languedoc were divided among themſelves, the greateſt part diſapproved the king of Navarre's taking arms, and adhered to the treaty of peace; but at length de Chatillon raiſed a ſufficient army to force marſhal D'Amville, now by ſucceſſion to his elder brother's title, called marſhal de Montmorenci, to retire before him, though ſuperior in ſtrength to de Chatillon. In order to bring over the whole province to his party, the king of Navarre ſent the viſcount de Turenne with the greateſt part of his troops into Languedoc, where he ſerved him ſucceſsfully; but in the mean time Henry was obliged to retire to Nerac, with leſs than four hundred horſe.

Marshal Biron was then at the head of an army on the borders of the Garonne; and with four thouſand infantry, ſix hundred horſe, and two culverines, advancing as far as the vineyards adjacent to Nerac, and diſcharging ſome cannon at the town, threw the ſmall garriſon of that place into great conſternation; which was, probably, increaſed by the ladies of the court, whoſe courage was not ſufficient to reconcile them to ſo dangerous a ſituation †. D'Aubigné, after a journey of eighty leagues, which he had undertaken in order to refute ſome miſrepreſentations of his conduct, arrived at Nerac, at the time of this bravado; and obſerving that marſhal Biron had fixed his camp in a place of ſuch diſadvantage as rendered him leſs formidable than might have been expected from his ſuperiority in numbers, he ſelected forty men who had been

D'Aubigné's ſkirmiſh with marſhal Biron's army.

† De Thou, tom. vi. liv. 72. p. 16. Mem. de la reine Marg. p. 183.

his

his old friends and companions at Castel-Jaloux, and led them to a skirmish with the enemy: he maintained the fight during two hours in such a manner that the marshal retired from the place. The terrors into which a few cannon shot had thrown the queen of Navarre, and the rest of the ladies, had rendered the marshal's vicinity so very terrible to their imaginations, that they were very eloquent in their commendations of D'Aubigné, for having discouraged him from those alarming bravados *.

He justifies himself from some aspersions.

THE occasion of his coming to court through the numerous dangers and difficulties to which he must be exposed in travelling so far through a country of armed enemies, was an information he had received, that D'Usson, and the comte de la Rochefoucalt, had misrepresented the affair of Blaye, and endeavoured to turn it to his disadvantage. He brought with him Laleu, and three other gentlemen, who had been engaged in that enterprize; and when he arrived, desired the king to call into his presence his two calumniators, before whom he gave so exact and circumstantial a detail of all that had passed, that D'Usson was obliged to confess the truth of the whole relation; and the king not only permitted D'Aubigné to give the lye to any person that should attempt to alter the least circumstance in his account, but gave under his hand a testimonial of his approbation, in terms the most satisfactory and honourable †.

HAVING thus vindicated his conduct, he returned to Montagu; accompanied by fifteen

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 59. † Ibid.

muſketeers: In paſſing near Cours, he was met by ſixty light horſe of the enemy; but he placed his men to ſuch advantage, that he diſperſed them.

In purſuing his journey he had another rencounter which was ridiculous enough, and might have expoſed him to ſome diſgrace. As he was marching at midnight through the vineyards of St. Preux, near Jarnac, in a narrow path, which allowed only five men to go abreaſt, he was met by ſome people on horſeback, who immediately drawing their ſwords attacked him: as he had no other deſign than to proſecute his journey, had the place allowed of it he would have avoided them, being in a ſpot ſurrounded with garriſoned towns belonging to the enemy; but finding himſelf obliged to engage, he ſoon diſcovered that his opponents were only two prieſts, and two drunken men, who had ſworn to attack the firſt people they ſhould meet; a frolic for which they were ſeverely puniſhed, before D'Aubigné perceived how ridiculous an enemy he oppoſed.

Returns to Montagu.

When he arrived at Montagu he again put himſelf at the head of the light horſe belonging to that garriſon, and made frequent excurſions to a very great diſtance, defeating parties of the enemy of more than double his numbers, whereever he could meet with them; and bringing much plunder, and many priſoners to the town. He performed theſe ſmall expeditions with ſuch order and dexterity, that one time, having occaſion for refreſhment, he entered a houſe which fronted the ſuburbs of a town; ſhut up in it his twenty-ſeven horſes, confined fourteen perſons who belonged to the houſe, and ſuch people

as came to viſit the owner; and all ſo quietly, that no ſuſpicions were conceived of any ſtrangers having taken poſſeſſion; till at night, ſetting forward again, he left his priſoners at liberty to inform their neighbours of what had happened. One of his enterprizes was of a ſort that will not often be imitated. The king of France had from the commencement of the war, allowed freer exerciſe of the reformed religion than he had ever before permitted; with a view of ingratiating himſelf with the huguenots, and of caſting more blame on the king of Navarre for breaking a treaty, which he thought thus to prove his own intention of obſerving. This conduct gained the reformed miniſters ſo generally over to his ſide, that it was difficult to prevail with any of them to quit their uſual places of abode, to reſide among the military. The garriſon of Montagu was one of thoſe reduced to live without any public worſhip; which being very diſagreeable to them, D'Aubigné, ſelecting a party of his well tried ſoldiers, went to St. Fulgent, and brought by force a miniſter from thence; who pleaſed to ſee a numerous body of ſoldiers free from blaſphemy, quarrels, dice, harlots, or robbery (except that of pillaging at a great diſtance from the town, according to the rights of war) conceived ſo ſincere an attachment to them, that he voluntarily remained there till the town was beſieged †.

THE frequent excurſions made by this garriſon, at length induced the leaguers to commiſſion the count de Lude to drive them from the town. No leſs than ten fruitleſs attempts were

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 375.

made to ſurprize it; moſt of them being fruſtrated by the effects that the perturbation of the minds of the conſpirators had on their countenances, which could not eſcape the penetration of D'Aubigné. After nine conſpiracies had been thus diſcovered, and the town was threatened with a ſiege, the governor and his council had all acquired ſuch faith in the ſcience of phyſiognomy, that they determined to watch the countenance, and courſe of life of every man in the garriſon; holding ſuſpected ſuch as they ſhould obſerve gloomy, penſive, and often engaged in private conferences with each other. In conſequence of this ſearch they ſelected thirty, whom they ſent by way of garriſon to the caſtle of l'Abergement, being ſenſible that they muſt give it up as ſoon as ſiege was laid to Montagu. The conſpirators by this honorary expulſion from the town, perceived themſelves ſuſpected, and found their deſign fruſtrated; but obſerving one man in their company who was not of their party, and whoſe ill-favoured countenance had deceived the phyſiognomiſts, they drove him from among them; though not without treating him very ill †.

The preparations making by the comte de Lude caſt a great damp on the ſpirits of the garriſon, which was increaſed by frequent advices from the neighbouring gentlemen, of the conſiderable force he was collecting: their viſible dejection induced D'Aubigné, with ſome other of their leaders, to proclaim by beat of drum, that "all cowards, whoſe hearts ſunk at the thoughts of the approaching ſiege, had

† Ibid. p. 377.

leave

leave to depart, and go to the devil." Though the terms were not very polite, the permiſſion was ſo agreeable, that almoſt three quarters of the garriſon took advantage of it; not quite four hundred remaining in the town. Theſe were divided into three companies, the command of one of which was given to D'Aubigné, who had been before elected lieutenant colonel. He rendered the enemies approaches very troubleſome, ſeldom ſuffering a night to paſs without forcing ſome of their quarters. But being gone at the head of forty horſe to meet a regiment that was coming to join the count de Lude; and learning from the priſoners he took that the count did not intend to form a regular ſiege till a week from that time, he made no haſte to return; buſying himſelf in ſuch little enterprizes as his forces would permit. Montagu beſieged.

But the enemy being informed that D'Aubigné, with ſome of his boldeſt ſoldiers, were then abroad, haſtened their approaches, in order to ſtop every avenue to the town, and prevent his returning into it. In a ſkirmiſh between the army and the garriſon on that occaſion, the commander on the ſide of the latter, with twenty of his officers, being ſurrounded by the enemy, was going to ſurrender, when a younger brother of D'Aubigné's, then only an enſign, at the head of thirty of his men, brake through the enemy, and brought them off; but as he was retreating, an old ſoldier ſeeing two freſh companies of cavalry coming upon them, cried out to them to fly, adding, here are horſe coming: "Well," replied the youth, "they are only ſo many more "beaſts:" however he made his men retire over a hedge; but not able to prevail with D'Aubigné's brother killed.

himſelf

himſelf to follow them without making ſome oppoſition, he, by a well aimed blow, ſtruck the captain of the troop to the ground; but the ſoldiers too well revenged their leader by falling on the youth, and killing him on the ſpot.

He had already ſhewn himſelf the worthy brother of Agrippa D'Aubigné; having a little time before, at the head of only 40 men, routed 320. The daring ſpirit of the youth made his brother wiſh to repreſs his ardour; and before he left the town he ſaid to him; "You "have gained the reputation of a good ſoldier; "I do not wiſh you to be covetous of your life, "but houſewife it well." To which the young man replied, "I will ſoon have the pleaſure of "being reſpected, or not be at all *."

It was not long before D'Aubigné heard from ſome priſoners he had taken that the ſiege was commenced; and reſolving at all hazards to return to the garriſon, he attacked that part of the enemy's camp which appeared to have the weakeſt guard; and forcing it in the night, conducted his men without any loſs into the town; where he received the afflicting intelligence of his brother's death.

By frequent ſallies at the head of his little band he kept the beſiegers inceſſantly haraſſed, and determined them to change the ſiege into a blockade. During the four months that it continued, D'Aubigné commanded in twenty-nine ſallies, wherein he engaged in cloſe fight parties of the enemy far ſuperior to his own; but always came off conqueror.

* Ibid. p. 379.

In one of these, with 200 men, he drove 800 back into their intrenchments. The laſt ſkirmiſh was occaſioned by his having perceived, from the top of a tower where he was taking a ſurvey of the beſiegers, that they were placing 400 muſketeers in ambuſh, in a wood on the left ſide of the town, making them lie down on their faces, to prevent their being ſeen. When the men were, as they imagined, thus concealed, an officer at the head of his regiment advanced towards the town, in order by a bravado to attract part of the garriſon to an engagement, which, by retiring, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, he was to draw into the ſnare prepared for them. But D'Aubigné, ſending two captains at the head of ſixty men to amuſe that regiment, led 150 to the wood, where falling on the ambuſcade he killed ſeveral of them, and drove the reſt into their intrenchments.

At that time two armies were ſeldom long in ſight of each other, without private combats. Several challenges paſſed between the count de Lude's officers and thoſe in the garriſon; and at length, at the deſire of the beſiegers, a combat of ten men on each ſide was agreed upon, among whom D'Aubigné was one; but the count de Lude put a ſtop to it, as the news of a general peace had reached the army.

A dispute then aroſe between the beſiegers and the beſieged, which ſhould firſt publiſh the treaty of peace. The count de Lude deſired to confer with D'Aubigné upon it, aſking his opinion; to which D'Aubigné replied, "that the publication came with a better grace "from thoſe who were maſters of the field, "than

"than from the garrison of a besieged city; "and as a pacification would necessarily put "the count in possession of the town, he owed "the sufferers some small compensation; and "could give none that would be less to his own "disadvantage than first publishing the peace." The count in the course of their conversation asked him, "if he should demand the performance of the challenge given by the ten "catholic officers?" D'Aubigné answered, "That so far from it, he was sensible that if "his general treated him and his companions "according to the rigor of the ancient military "laws, he would cause all the ten to be beheaded, for having so imprudently hazarded the "loss of the town †."

December.

Peace puts an end to the siege.

The first place the huguenots had seized in this short war, was la Fere in Picardy, which the prince of Condé had taken by stratagem the last day of November, 1579 §. But the disagreement between him and the king of Navarre, and the dissentions among the reformed, prevented any increase of his forces, and disappointed him of farther success in Picardy. Receiving intelligence the following spring that the king of France designed to besiege la Fere, he went into England, Flanders, and Germany, with a design of levying a sufficient body of troops to enable him to resist the royal army; but more difficulties having occurred than he expected, he did not succeed in time to save the place; to which marshal Matignon laid siege on the

† Ibid. p. 383. § De Thou, tom. v. liv. 68. p. 615.

7th of July, and reduced it to capitulate on the 12th of September *.

THE peace granted this year to the huguenots was owing to the duke of Anjou, who being invited to accept the ſovereignty of the Low Countries, judged it neceſſary to put an end to the civil wars in France, that he might carry with him a ſufficient army to aſſiſt his new ſubjects in their oppoſition to the power of Spain †. The articles of the peace were kept ſecret, except that the cautionary towns were allowed to the huguenots for ſix years longer. The prince of Condé, who had engaged a conſiderable body of Germans, oppoſed the pacification, and the province of Dauphiny refuſed to accede to the treaty. But the duke de Mayenne, at the head of a good army, with eaſe brought them to accept it, as they were deſtitute of troops to oppoſe him.

September.

The peace of Fleix.

1581.

ON the concluſion of the peace, D'Aubigné returned to the king of Navarre's court, which was then at Cadillac, though it ſoon after removed to Libourne, to meet the duke of Anjou, who deſired to confer with the king of Navarre, before he went into the Low Countries; but the king, detained by the charms of the counteſs de Guiche, did not arrive there till ſome time after. The queen of Navarre, ſuſpecting D'Aubigné of having given ſome intelligence which occaſioned the diſcovery of an intrigue ſhe was engaged in at Cadillac, took advantage of the king's abſence to entangle him in a negotiation,

D'Aubigné returns to court.

* De Thou, tom. vi. liv. 72. p. 19. Cayet, tom. i. p. 8. Mem. de la reine Marg. p. 156.

† Dav. lib. 6. p. 353.

whereby

whereby ſhe hoped to get an opportunity of expoſing him to the reſentment either of her huſband, or her brother. Being informed that D'Aubigné arrived early in the morning, ſhe ſent for him, and complained that a military life had rendered him ill bred and ſavage; that it was not for perſons ſo much eſteemed to wait for her riſing, but to come into her chamber at any hour: then ordering a chair to be brought, made him ſit down, and thus addreſſed him: "You have come very luckily, if not rather "too late, to perform a ſervice that will be "highly agreeable to the king my huſband, "and your maſter. There is in this town a "Portugueze prince, count Antonio Virmioſo, "conſtable of Portugal, of whoſe fame you "have heard in the war carried on by his ſove-"reign in Barbary. I would have you judge "of him yourſelf, before I tell you my opinion "of him. I know you will give little attention "to his ungraceful bows, or his aukward man-"ner of dancing. He ſpeaks well; excells in "every kind of gallantry; and is ſo eloquent on "the ſubject of love, that it is a pleaſure to "hear him converſe upon it. You are not igno-"rant of the miſerable ſituation of Portugal, "and the diſtreſſed condition of its king, Don "Antonio, who is in danger of being deprived "of all his dominions. His ſubjects are inclined "to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, but foreign "aſſiſtance is requiſite. You cannot doubt "but that to reinſtate him on the throne, would "be of very great advantage to the prince "who ſhould effect it. My brother, whoſe "dangerous ambition you well know, is in "treaty with him, but with no other view than "to deceive him; and fearing that the conſtable

"ſhould

" should be informed of his diſpoſition, he keeps " every one from his preſence, under pretence " of defending him from ſuch as might be " tempted by aſſaſſinating him, to obtain the " great reward of 40,000 ducats, which the " king of Spain has ſet on his head; and Alfe- " ran, whoſe office it is to receive ſtrangers, " has ſix Switzers under his direction for that " purpoſe; which renders it difficult for any " perſon who is not concerned in the negotiation, " to get acceſs to him; but I am perſuaded this " difficulty will only increaſe your ardour to " render an important ſervice to your maſter, " in bringing the king of Portugal to commit " his cauſe to the huguenot party, on whom " alone he can rely for any defence againſt Spain " and Italy: yet I am ſenſible there is ſome " danger of occaſioning a quarrel between my " brother and my huſband, and that conſidera- " tion a little perplexes and diſtreſſes me; but my " mind will reſt at peace in the confidence I have " in your experience and fidelity, on which I " can ſafely rely."

" MADAM, (anſwered D'Aubigné) Languil- " lier and Beaupré, counſellors in ordinary to " the king your huſband, are here; they are " of more authority, and more mature in age " than I am; I beſeech your majeſty to order " them at leaſt to ſhare this buſineſs with me: " command me in every thing within my power, " but do not appoint me ſo dangerous an office; " nor lay upon me a burden too heavy for me " to ſuſtain." The queen excuſed herſelf from this requeſt by ſaying, that Languillier was not qualified to talk with any one ſuperior to a maitre d'hotel; and that Beaupré was attached

to

to the duke of Anjou; and thus after ſome farther converſation, left the affair ſolely in D'Aubigné's hands.

When he retired from her apartment, and reflected on what had paſſed, he was well convinced that ſhe was actuated by malice; though being ignorant of her ſuſpicions, he knew not any cauſe of offence he had given her; and that ſhe embarked him in this delicate affair, in order to ruin him, either by accuſing him of neglecting his maſter's intereſts if he declined the negotiation, or of ſowing diſſention between the duke and the king of Navarre if he undertook it. Only one means occurred to him of diſappointing her malice, which was to deceive her in the courſe he intended to purſue, and thereby lead her to abuſe him for the part he had not acted. In this view he returned the next morning, and declared he choſe rather to be remiſs than miſchievous; and thought he ſhould be leſs culpable in depriving his maſter of an opportunity of undertaking an honourable war, than in engaging him in one with his brother, and the houſe of Valois.

Negotiates with don Antonio.

But ever ready for enterprize, whether to be performed by arms or negotiation, having learnt that four of the duke of Anjou's confidents had a conference every morning with the conſtable, he no ſooner left the queen than he exchanged his cloak and hat with his ſervant, and placing himſelf in a ſtreet through which the duke's agents were to paſs, he, mixing with their train, accompanied them to the conſtable's houſe; and concealing himſelf in the corner of a poultry yard, waited the departure of the agents. When he ſaw them retire, he entered the houſe, and going directly

directly to the constable's chamber, obtained admission, by telling the servant he was a gentleman sent by the king of Navarre. He approached the bed where the constable was, saying to him in the words of a Portuguese proverb, "Regard "not, sir, the hat, but what comes forth from the "head;" and began to plead the necessity of disguising himself. Don Virmioso immediately understood him; and ordering that Alferan should not be admitted, in the same language answered, "To a clear-sighted person, sir, the "rough covering cannot disguise the good will." Being then left alone, D'Aubigné thus addressed him:

"YOUR excellency will give me leave to observe, that there are six qualifications which "ought to concur in the person to whom the "defence of a state against a powerful enemy is "intrusted. These requisites are, indisputable "integrity; experience in arms; the confidence "of the soldiery; vicinity of dominion; an equal "cause of hatred to the oppressor; and, if it can "be found, an absolute impossibility of any reconciliation with the enemy. You seek protection "from the duke of Anjou, of whom the queen "of Navarre said to me but yesterday, that if all "infidelity was banished from the earth, her "brother had a sufficient portion to replenish it. "Reflect, sir, (for you may have already heard it) "on the return he made to that party, which "not only saved his life and honour, but procured him the great advantages he now enjoys; "he embraced the cause of their enemies, and "endeavoured to wound the bosom that had "cherished him. As for his experience, he has "never been at the head of an army, except at His speech to Antonio.

" the siege of la Charité, and then was com-
" mander only in name; the duke of Guise per-
" forming all the functions of the charge. In
" regard to the confidence placed in him by the
" military, they make a suitable return to the
" sentiments he has for them, hating him to so
" great a degree, that they lay the most shocking
" vices to his charge. His affairs carry him far
" distant from the frontiers; and instead of being
" at enmity with Spain, he is united to it by
" consanguinity and inclination; and though
" private interest may for a short time interrupt
" so natural an amity, yet the most insignificant
" nuncio the pope could appoint, would bring
" him on his knees to beg for pardon, and recon-
" ciliation with Spain.

" If in these particulars you oppose to the
" duke of Anjou, the king, my master, you will
" perceive a striking superiority in every respect.
" His probity has shone conspicuously in quit-
" ting the court, where he had the promise of
" being made lieutenant general in preference to
" the duke of Anjou, to espouse the cause of his
" distressed adherents; and involve himself in a
" war, where he had nothing to oppose to the
" great inequality of numbers, but the superi-
" ority of his virtue. In the support of that
" oppressed party he has gained experience; and
" by having already three times obliged the
" catholics, with all the forces of the kingdom
" at their command, to desire peace, by being
" always the foremost in an attack, and the last
" in a retreat, he has infused that confidence in
" his valour and prudence into the breasts of the
" military, which I have mentioned as the third
" requisite in the ally you ought to seek. His

" courtiers

"courtiers are the braveſt officers in France; "military merit is the road to promotion in his "family. He is ſo much beloved by the gentle- "men of his party, that when they have ſpent "two thirds of their fortune in his ſervice, no "farther inducement is required to make them "expend the remainder, but the promiſe of a "battle. His dominions are ſo conveniently "ſituated, that his ſubjects, from their ſtrongeſt "forts, behold out of their windows the weſtern "ſea, or the Pyrenean mountains: a proximity "which renders the increaſe of the power of "Spain doubly formidable to them; and muſt "neceſſarily create ſuch an uniſon of intereſts "with Portugal, that they would not only be "attached to you by pay, but by their paſſions. "Then, what is almoſt beyond expectation, but "greatly deſirable in your ally, the road to re- "conciliation is utterly deſtroyed; not only by "the injuries already received, but by thoſe with "which he is ſtill threatened. The cruelties "practiſed by the Spaniards, and the unquench- "ed fire of their inquiſition, have excited ſuch "horror and deteſtation in the auxiliaries I pro- "poſe to you, that your cauſe will become theirs; "and even ſhould you abandon it, they would "of their own choice maintain it. This, ſir, in "plain and honeſt terms, is what I have to pro- "poſe to you. I have not ſought to adorn ſo "reaſonable a propoſal with the flowers and "graces of rhetoric. I have no credentials to "offer, being juſt arrived from the other ſide of "the Loire; but unwilling to loſe ſo favourable "an opportunity, I made uſe of my maſter's "name; yet that you may give me ſuch credence "as is uſually previous to a negotiation of this "kind, I will engage to write immediately a few

"words to the king of Navarre, who I am "certain, notwithſtanding the dangers to which "it may expoſe him, will take poſt to meet "you, in any place you ſhall pleaſe to appoint."

It proves ineffectual.

THE conſtable had liſtened to D'Aubigné's diſcourſe with great tokens of concern; which made the ſpeaker judge that he was more deeply engaged with the duke of Anjou than he then wiſhed; but the conſtable, without declaring he was ſo, being on the point of removing from Libourne to Coutras, appointed a conference with the king of Navarre in the warren near that town. When Henry received advice of it from D'Aubigné, he diſguiſed himſelf in the dreſs of a cook, and paſſing through Bourdeaux, where he was more hated than in any place in France, came to the appointment; where D'Aubigné performed the office of interpreter between him and the conſtable: but the negotiation proved ineffectual, from the too ſtrong engagement the latter had entered into with the duke; who gave him very flattering promiſes of ſending powerful aſſiſtance to king Antonio *.

THE king of Navarre, after the conference ended, repaired to Libourne; where his queen did not fail to pour forth a violent invective againſt lukewarm ſervants; informing him that ſhe had omitted no endeavours to prevail on thoſe whom he moſt truſted, to do him an important ſervice; but either too great fear of the duke of Anjou, or too little love for their maſter, had prevented their undertaking it: inſinuations which could have had little effect, even

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 414.

if the fact had not contradicted them, for, as D'Aubigné himſelf obſerves, Henry well knew the heart both of his wife and of his equerry.

In the latter end of July, in the following year, the ſuccours ſent to the king of Portugal having fallen far ſhort of the promiſes made him; and even thoſe not accompanied by the duke of Anjou, who was employed in proſecuting his views on the Low Countries, the count di Virmioſa was mortally wounded in a battle with the Spaniards; and very ſoon after, the king of Portugal was diſpoſſeſſed by them of every part of his dominions. The night before the battle, which the count had determined on in a fit of deſperation, reſolved not to live to ſee his country ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke, he wrote the following letter to D'Aubigné and ſent it to him at Nantz.

Antonio's letter to D'Aubigné.

"Sir, You too faithfully foretold our miſ-"fortunes; and well knew the nature of the "man who has deceived us. The remedies "you would have adminiſtered, have through "our errors proved uſeleſs; but I give you "my word I will ſeek the only relief that "remains, an honourable death. I am ſure "of your compaſſion, and hope for ſo much of "your eſteem, that you will not bluſh to have "ranked among your friends,

"Antonio count di Virmiosa."

D'Aubigne´ returned for anſwer:

His anſwer.

"I would gladly have been your phyſician "and not your prophet: I ſhall not deny "you my compaſſion, but ſhould with much

"greater pleasure have expended my breath in
"congratulations; and have dedicated to your
"service, the hands of your faithful

"Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigné."

Before this reply reached Portugal the count was no more; and it was delivered to the unfortunate king †.

The last pacification was on the whole better observed than that which preceeded it; yet some gentlemen endeavoured to take the usual advantage of the confidence which many placed in the treaty, who cherished the belief of security as a desirable and uncommon blessing; seldom enjoyed since the first commencement of the civil wars. Of these gentlemen were the Sieurs de Lansac, de Lusan, and the viscount D'Aubeterre, who, under the false pretence of a private quarrel, levied men with an intention of surprizing la Rochelle. But as private interest was the motive of their undertaking, so it proved the cause of their failure of success. Divisions of property are with difficulty adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties; Lusan, discontented with the share assigned him, repaired to the king of Navarre, and disclosed the whole design; informing him that a plan was laid to enter the town by a grate which was considered by the inhabitants as a defence to one side of it.

He is sent to Rochelle.

As soon as Henry received this information, he dispatched D'Aubigné to Rochelle, to make it known to the citizens. On his arrival he

† Ibid. p. 467.

desired

desired they would appoint three men of approved fidelity, to confer with him on an affair he had to communicate: to which they replied, that they were all deserving of confidence, and incapable of betraying any secret with which he should intrust them; therefore desired it might be imparted to them all. D'Aubigné replied, that they were then more infallible in their judgment than our Lord, who had one traytor amongst those he had chosen for his apostles; and since such was their determination, he should take his leave of them without any further intercourse. Perceiving him so resolute in his demand, they complied, and deputed three of their most considerable citizens, to whom he made known the danger that threatened the city, and went with them to take a view of the grate, which they found was all filed nearly asunder, except two of the bars; but he could not prevail with them to form an ambuscade to surprize those who had designed to surprize them.

The viscount and Lansac, finding their enterprize discovered, gave up all immediate attempts; but in little more than a month they again levied some troops; which greatly alarming the king of Navarre, D'Aubigné undertook to frustrate their design, and taking with him ten chosen soldiers, he mixed in with the viscount's troops as they marched only in the night; and before break of day withdrawing his small corps, lodged apart; till the return of night, put them again in motion; accompanying them in this manner till they approached the town; when advancing before them, and calling a few musketeers from thence to strengthen his party, he returned back; and meeting them a quarter of a league

Disappoints an enterprize on that town.

a league from the town, charged them in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently proved that their deſign was diſcovered; and nothing remained for them but to meaſure back the road they came *.

And returns to the king.

THE king of Navarre being freed by the peace from all military employment, went one day to viſit Monſ. de Candale, a man famous for philoſophic knowledge; and having aſked to ſee his curious library, Monſ. de Candale readily promiſed it, on condition that no ignorant, or illiterate perſon, ſhould enter with him. "No, "my good uncle," replied the king, "I will "bring no one with me, who is not more "capable of diſtinguiſhing the merits of your "collection, than myſelf." He kept his word, and was accompanied only by D'Aubigné, and five other gentlemen of learning and knowledge. While they were amuſing themſelves with a machine, by means of which a child of ſix years old raiſed the weight of a cannon; D'Aubigné obſerving a large ſquare piece of black marble, which ſerved the purpoſe of a tablet to Monſ. de Candale, with a pencil lying near it, he wrote upon the marble,

> Non eſt hæc princeps regem tractare doceto,
> Sed docta regni pondera ferre manu †.

then covering the marble again, he rejoined the company.

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* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 64.

† Nearly to this effect:

> Theſe things are little worth the monarch's care;
> Teach him the burthen of the ſtate to bear.

WHEN

When they all came together to the marble, Monſ. de Candale ſaid to the king, "Here is my tablet," and taking off the cover, perçeived the latin diſtic; on reading which he cried out, "Ah! ah! here is a man amongſt us!"—— "But one!" ſaid the king; "do you take the "reſt of us for beaſts?" and deſiring his uncle to gueſs the writer, it gave occaſion to ſome mirth.

D'Aubigne' never had appeared more firmly eſtabliſhed in his maſter's favour than at this time; of which he received no ſlender proof, on the following occaſion. The flagrant irregularities in the queen of Navarre's conduct, expoſed her to the ſerious cenſures of the grave, to the ridicule of the wits, and to the ſarcaſms of the ſatirical. D'Aubigné was not unlikely to offend in ſpeech under each of theſe ſeveral characters, for his morals were as ſevere, as his wit was pointed. But Margaret was too careleſs of her character, and too ſhameleſs in the proſecution of her amours, to be much affected by ſerious cenſure; ſhe could not expect the perſons among whom ſhe lived to be blind to her vices; but ſhe required them ſo far to reſpect her rank as not to make her the object of their ridicule. D'Aubigné probably thought, that vice, like death, levels all conditions; or rather, that vice was more infamous in the great, than in their inferiors; as from the better cultivation of their minds they ought to have a deeper knowledge, and nicer ſenſe of right and wrong; beſides that additional incentive to virtue, the deſire of general eſteem, ſo neceſſary to their happineſs, yet ſo impoſſible to be obtained without deſerving it, by perſons whoſe conſpicuous ſtation expoſes them

Is in great favor.

them to universal observation. At least, whatever might be his motive, it is certain she did not escape the lash of his sarcastic wit. The most refined satirist will not easily be forgiven, however delicate he gives the wound; but in grosser times, the rough, blunt edge of satire, hacked and mangled in a fearful manner whatever it attacked; it is not therefore much to be wondered at, if the queen's resentment against D'Aubigné was somewhat violent.

Her situation was no where very agreeable; she treated her brother's favourites with contempt; and they found ample matter for revenge in making him acquainted with her dissolute conduct, which subjected her to very disagreeable treatment from him. The king her husband was not ignorant of her intrigues, but his interest required him to keep on tolerable terms with her; he even at times received some advantage from her amours, as by her own charms, and those of the ladies who attended her, she had successfully counteracted the arts of the queen mother, with her train of seducers. But however convenient she might find the king of Navarre's affected blindness in these particulars, they strongly proved his contempt for her; and though she rather promoted, than obstructed his amours, yet she must be exposed to impertinent treatment from his mistresses; who would hate her as a woman they injured, and could not respect her as a virtuous queen. The consciousness of being deservedly despised, rendered her uneasy wherever she was; and she sought relief not from a change of conduct, which could alone give it, but from a change of place. Weary of the indignities she received at her brother's

brother's court, ſhe had wiſhed to leave it for that of Navarre; without reflecting, that however abandoned her mind, the ſight of a huſband ſhe was daily injuring in the moſt cruel manner muſt be painful. While the war continued ſhe was obliged to remain with him, but taking advantage of the peace, ſhe choſe to return to her brother's court. The king of Navarre, not ſorry to have his ſhame removed farther from his view, had no inclination to detain her; and the queen mother, deſirous of a conference with him, agreed to receive her daughter from his hands, at the town of St. Maixant in Poictou.

WHEN they met there, Margaret prevailed on her mother to join with her in ſoliciting the king to baniſh D'Aubigné from his preſence; the hatred of Margaret being ſtill increaſed, by a belief that he had been the occaſion of an affront, offered to one of the ladies moſt in her confidence. She threw herſelf at her huſband's feet; beſought him with tears to give her this proof of his regard; and ſolicited it ſo powerfully, that with the queen mother's aſſiſtance, ſhe prevailed with Henry to promiſe compliance, though he had no intention of keeping his word. A politic deſire of ſending the two queens away in good humour, got the better of his ſincerity; and having diſmiſſed the offender, he gave him private orders not to depart, but to keep himſelf concealed. In conſequence of this arrangement, D'Aubigné hid himſelf all day, and paſſed every night in the king's apartment; and he tells us, that by means of this ſeeming diſgrace, he diſtinguiſhed his real from his falſe friends; a dangerous, though not uſeleſs experiment *. Incurs the queen of Navarre's diſpleaſure.

* Ibid. p. 67.

Goes to St. Gelais.

As ſuch kind of concealments did not much ſuit his open nature, he ſoon took this opportunity of going to St. Gelais, in order to renew his addreſſes to madem. de Lezay; which had been for ſome time interrupted. Her beauty and her rank had procured him many rivals, much ſuperior to him both in quality and fortune, to whom her guardian and relations gave the preference, and had engaged very far in a treaty with one of them; but by it's not taking effect, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe it met with oppoſition from the young lady, who paid leſs regard to fortune than to merit. The king of Navarre wrote her ſeveral letters in recommendation of D'Aubigné; but ſome of her relations, and her leſs favoured lovers, unwilling that his intereſt with her ſhould be ſtrengthened by the ſolicitations of ſo honourable an interceſſor, inſiſted on their being meer forgeries; whereupon Henry came himſelf to bear teſtimony of their truth: and to do honour to his faithful ſervant, and the object of his affections, gave many public entertainments, ſuch as were then in faſhion, as courſes at the ring, maſquerades, &c. D'Aubigné after the king's departure continued thoſe amuſements, at which the prince of Condé, the count de la Rochefoucaut, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction were often preſent; and all the perſons of rank in Poictou repairing thither, it ſpread an air of joy and feſtivity over the whole province, which increaſed the hatred of his rivals, and inclined many to envy a courtier, whoſe ſplendid appearance ſeemed almoſt an inſult on their more frugal manners. Nor did it make any favorable impreſſion on thoſe, whom next to his miſtreſs he wiſhed to pleaſe. He found that dazzling the eyes of her guardian and relations, was not the way

Renews his addreſſes to madem. de Lezay.

way to gain their approbation; and like a true soldier, and a true lover, holding all ſtratagems in both love and war to be fair, he had recourſe to art.

He had a friend in the town whoſe name was la Tiſſardiere, formerly an intimate of the ſieur de Baugouin, madem. de Lezay's guardian, but then a little at variance with him. D'Aubigné prevailed on this gentleman to aſſiſt him in his ſcheme, and gave him the neceſſary inſtructions.

The ſieur de Tiſſardiere having learnt his part, ſought a reconciliation with the ſieur de Baugouin; and pretending to intereſt himſelf in all his concerns, ſaid to him, "I find that ſeveral "princes and noblemen of the firſt rank, ſolicit "your conſent to D'Aubigné's marriage with "madem. de Lezay, but I know you have "another perſon in view, and are actually under "ſome engagements to him; if you will give "me your word never to diſcover that I took "any part in it, I will tell you by what means "you may deliver yourſelf from his importu-"nities; without giving any one the leaſt reaſon "to complain of, or cenſure you." The ſieur de Baugouin, rejoiced to hear that he might be ſo well extricated out of the difficulties in which this affair involved him, overflowed with gratitude and affection to his kind informer; and made him the moſt ſolemn promiſes of inviolable ſecreſy. Tiſſardiere then continued, "You "muſt tell monſieur D'Aubigné, that you are "ſenſible the addreſſes of ſo well born, and ſo "accompliſhed a gentleman do your ward great "honour; but that unhappily, ſome of his "rivals have publiſhed ſtories derogatory to the "nobility

"nobility of his extraction. You may remind
"him that at an entertainment ſome letters were
"ſhewn from the ſieur de Fervaques, containing
"many things to the diſadvantage of his cha-
"racter; that you indeed well remember he had
"thereupon declared, that if he could not by
"repeatedly giving the lye to his detractors
"wound their conſciences, he would by wounds
"of which they had a nicer ſenſibility refute
"their calumny; to which no one returning any
"anſwer, he afterwards gave the lye in due form
"to the ſieur de Fervaques; and you are entirely
"convinced that all the reflexions caſt on him
"were only the ſlanders of malice; that you
"have not the leaſt doubt of his honour; but
"thoſe defamatory reports having come to the
"knowledge of many ladies of great quality, re-
"lated to madem. de Lezay; you wiſh in
"your own juſtification to give them proofs that
"you have not inconſiderately permitted his
"addreſſes. For this purpoſe you may propoſe
"an agreement to be entered into between him
"and the young lady's relations, whereby they
"ſhall oblige themſelves to conſent to his mar-
"riage with her, when he ſhall produce indiſ-
"putable teſtimonials of his noble extraction,
"and the antiquity of his family; and he in re-
"turn, ſhall bind himſelf to deſiſt from his pre-
"tenſions, if he cannot give full ſatisfaction on
"thoſe particulars. This, continued the ſieur
"de Tiffardiere, I know he cannot do, and
"therefore by this compromiſe you will be de-
"livered from all future perſecutions from this
"pertinacious lover."

The ſieur de Baugouin was caught in the ſnare; and having again thanked and embraced

his

his good friend la Tiffardiere, followed his advice minutely; and the conditions were agreed to on all ſides. It was owing to chance, that D'Aubigné had in his hands thoſe teſtimonials which induced him to form this ſtratagem; ambitious only of the honour to which a man has the beſt title, that reſulting from his own actions, he had never much regarded that derived, that ſecondary honour, which ſo many claim from their anceſtors: the little regard he paid to the adventitious circumſtances of birth, and his early engagement in the purſuit of military glory, had never given him leiſure to examine into, or even reflect on his genealogy; but having recovered ſome effects that had for ſecurity been depoſited in the caſtle of Archiac, he found among them title deeds, and other papers, relative to his family, which firſt acquainted him with its antiquity and original.

In conſequence of the agreement, he depoſited his teſtimonials in the hands of one of his miſtreſs's relations, on whoſe honour he could depend; and at whoſe houſe others of her kindred met to examine them. They found among them all the papers relative to a quarrel, and a long proceſs at law, in which D'Aubigné's father had been engaged. A gentleman having diſputed with him the right of precedency at a proceſſion, and a duel between them having enſued, his antagoniſt, not ſucceeding therein, had ſought his revenge, in giving information of the ſieur D'Aubigné's holding certain crown lands, without acknowledging the tenure. To ſhew they were freehold, D'Aubigné had been obliged, in the courſe of the proceſs, to prove his deſcent both by the male and female line for ſeveral gene-

generations, beginning with Savari D'Aubigné, commander in the castle of Chinon for the king of England; and to produce the contracts of marriage of those his anceſtors. From this genealogical account, it appeared that he was deſcended from the family of the D'Aubignés d'Anjou. By theſe, and other papers to the ſame effect, D'Aubigné's rank was ſo clearly aſcertained, that the ſieur de Baugouin, with the reſt of his opponents, could by no means evade their agreement, and the two lovers were united *.

Marries her June the 6th, 1583.

The favor he was then in with the king of Navarre, would not allow him a long abſence from that court; in three weeks after his marriage, therefore, he went to Pau, where Henry then was; to ſhew that even his bride could not make him remiſs in the ſervice of a maſter, who had condeſcended to ſolicit his ſucceſs in an affair he had ſo much at heart. On his arrival he found the king greatly offended at the treatment the queen his wife had received from her brother, the king of France; and at the little ſatisfaction that prince was inclined to make for the affront.

Returns to court.

The king of France, ſcandalized at Margaret's ill conduct, and poſſibly more exaſperated at the contempt ſhe ſhewed for his favorites, and the freedom with which ſhe cenſured his vices, baniſhed two of her ladies from her preſence, and ſoon afterwards ordered her to return to her huſband; refuſing to ſee her before her departure. She had not gone far when ſhe was overtaken by a captain of the guard and fifty archers, who ſearched her litter, obliged her to unmaſk,

* Ibid. p. 71.

ſeized

ſeized her maſter of the horſe, her phyſician, and apothecary; while an officer had taken another road to ſecure the two baniſhed ladies, and bring them before the king, by whom they were interrogated apart concerning the morals and converſation of his ſiſter. Their depoſitions were put down in writing, and ſome of theſe perſons ſent to the Baſtile.

THIS treatment having been reported to the king of Navarre, he ſent Du Pleſſis Mornay to the king of France, deſiring him to declare of what the queen of Navarre was guilty to ſubject her to ſuch indignities; demanding juſtice to be done on her, if ſhe had committed any fault deſerving ſuch treatment; but if ſhe had not, requiring thoſe to be duely puniſhed who had ſo atrociouſly affronted her: adding, that his majeſty had done too much, or too little; too much, if the fault was not extreme; too little, if eſteeming her to deſerve the loſs of honour, he had ſuffered her to ſurvive it.

THE king of France giving only evaſive anſwers, Du Pleſſis found he had no ſatisfaction to expect, yet purſuing the ſubject, added, "But "what will Chriſtendom ſay, Sir, if the king of "Navarre receives her, embraces her without "ſcruple, thus returned to him ſtained and diſ-"honoured?" The king anſwered, "That he "has received the ſiſter of his king; what can "he do leſs?" "But ſhould it not be of a juſt "and equitable king," replied Du Pleſſis, "who would not require this obedience from "ſuch a ſubject, at the expence of his honour*?"

* La Vie du Pleſſis Mornay, liv. 1. p. 72.

Though the king did not chuse to make any reparation for the affront he had put upon his sister, nor to justify himself by accusing her, he hoped to stop any farther altercation by writing to the queen mother to detain Margaret on the road. But this did not satisfy the king of Navarre; who was greatly enraged at the neglect shewn to his complaint, when D'Aubigné arrived at his court; and having assembled his council, it was judged by all that he ought to insist in still stronger terms on a justification, or reparation, from the king of France; and in case of refusal to renounce his friendship: but all declined undertaking an affair, at once so delicate, and so dangerous, except D'Aubigné. He indeed represented, that having been accused of contriving his master's escape from the court, and suspected of some writings, and some verbal reflexions, wherein an offensive liberty had been taken with some persons in power, he was of all men the most improper; as what might be endured from the mouth of any other, would be intolerable from him; yet rather than disappoint his master's just resentment he complied; the king having given him full instructions in writing, and signed by himself, concerning the manner in which he should act. But as the long habitual licentiousness attending civil wars, had rendered the roads very unsafe, that he might not be robbed of these instructions, which by the king's signature were a security to him from any censure, should the event prove disagreeable, he caused them to be copied; and sent the original sealed up in a box to madame D'Aubigné, prohibiting her opening it, ("which "command," says he, "she obeyed, contrary "to

Is sent on a negotiation to the king of France.

"to the usual practice of her sex,") and carried only the copy with him.

The king of France, who was then at St. Germains, received D'Aubigné's remonstrance with great marks of displeasure; and shewing by his studied delays, and tedious evasions, that he had no intention of giving the king of Navarre satisfaction, D'Aubigné, in his master's name, renounced the honour of his alliance and friendship. The king bade him return to the *king* his master, since he dared to give him that appellation; adding, "and tell him if he comes "this way, I will lay such a burthen on his "shoulders, as would be too heavy even for "the grand seignior to bear.——Go tell him "this;—go to him—for he wants such people "as you are." "Sire," replied D'Aubigné, "My master was bred, and has increased in "honour, under the burthen with which your "majesty threatens him; if you do him justice "he will serve you with his life, his fortune, "and his dependants; but his honour he will "never sacrifice to you, Sire, nor to any prince "alive, while he has an inch of sword in his "hand."

The queen mother being informed of the message from the king of Navarre, spake to D'Aubigné; and told him that some of the insolent villains who had affronted her daughter should be put to death; to which he replied, "Unclean beasts were never judged worthy of "being sacrificed to Diana; nobler victims are "requisite to expiate such an offence *."

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 415. Bayle's Dict. notes to the article Navarre.

The king of France was too much enraged at what he termed D'Aubigné's temerity, willingly to suffer him to escape punishment; but not chusing to call him openly to account for it, he dispatched a party of soldiers to watch for him on the road; but by the assistance of Messrs. de Grillon and D'Entragues, he evaded their search, and got safe back to the king his master. His embassage had been esteemed so dangerous, that his friend the Baron de St. Gelais, grieved at his being engaged in it, was seized with so deep a melancholy, that from the time of his departure he would neither suffer his hair nor beard to be shaved; which occasioned the king of Navarre on seeing D'Aubigné enter the garden, where his majesty was then walking, to order one of his gentlemen to go and tell St. Gelais that he might send for his barber, for D'Aubigné was returned †.

Other deputations from the king of Navarre to the king of France on this subject succeeded D'Aubigné's; and Henry was at length prevailed upon to receive his wife.

1584. Though during the war the king of Navarre had exposed his person without caution or reserve on every occasion, yet the dangers that threatened him during this short interval of peace, were little inferior to those in which he voluntarily engaged. Conspiracies were formed against his life, and assassins employed to perpetrate by treachery, what his invincible courage, or rather, what the protection of a superior power, prevented their effecting in the field of

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 72.

battle. On two of these occasions the Sieur D'Aubigné had a great share in his preservation, particularly in the latter: for the most striking particular in the first was the king's courage and presence of mind.

An attempt to assassinate the king frustrated.

HAVING been informed that captain Melon was bringing him some recruits, he ordered him to quarter them at Gontaut; and declared publicly that he would ride thither the next morning to see them. He set out accordingly, attended only by D'Aubigné, D'Arambures, and Frontenac. As they were pursuing their journey with speed, for Henry kept a stable of small light horses which he used when particular expedition was required, they met on their road a gentleman named Gavaret mounted on so fine a horse, as raised a suspicion in their minds of his being the person meant, by some intelligence that had been sent the king of an assassin, to whom a horse had been given which cost 600 crowns. Henry's attendants immediately surrounded him; while he, in the most easy and chearful manner, asked Gavaret if his horse was a good one; who answering in the affirmative, the king desired he would let him try it. Gavaret turned pale, and appeared much confounded; but seeing no means of evading the request, he dismounted; and the king getting on the horse, examined the pistols, which finding charged and cocked, he fired them into the air; and spurring on the horse, rode full speed to Gontaut, where he delivered it again to Gavaret, but desired Melon to dismiss him †.

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 417.

Account of the aſſaſſin.

Gavaret had been bred an huguenot; but it appeared on enquiry that being converted to popery, he had promiſed his confeſſor to make a public recantation of his former opinions; and bring ſuch proof of his being a good catholic, that no one ſhould ever after be able to doubt the truth of his converſion. It was ſuppoſed that the murder of the king of Navarre was to have been this indiſputable proof of his ſincerity. He paid but an ill compliment to the church he ſought to enter, for he ſeems to have believed there were no means ſo acceptable, nor ſo likely to procure his admiſſion within the pale, as the perpetration of ſome execrable crime; and having been diſappointed in his deſign againſt the king of Navarre, whoſe death would have been a fatal blow to the whole huguenot party, he was reduced to recommend himſelf by the deſtruction of perſons of leſs note; but where the enormity of his villany and ingratitude did, poſſibly in his opinion, in ſome meaſure compenſate for the comparative inſignificance of the victims of his treachery.

His enormous vices having in very early youth ſo exaſperated his father, that he renounced all future connexions with him, he ſo effectually excited the compaſſion of the Sieur de Semans, another huguenot gentleman in the neighbourhood, that he not only received him into his family, but treated him as his ſon; and breeding him up with a young kinſman of his, gave him every advantage of education.

The elder Gavaret dying, his ſon inherited his fortune; and after being diſappointed of his intended aſſaſſination of the king of Navarre, he

he set out to take possession of his estate; and invited the Sieur de Semans, whom he had always with sufficient propriety called his father, together with the young man who had been his companion in education, six other gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and four merchants, all huguenots, to accompany him on so agreeable an occasion. During dinner, Gavaret entertained his guests with an enumeration of the various obligations he had received from the Sieur de Semans; observing that he had been more than a father to him: but the table was no sooner cleared, than sixteen assassins entered, who fell upon the guests; but Gavaret stopped them when they had killed but three of the company, declaring that to give the fatal blow belonged only to him; and having first killed his venerable and generous benefactor, he stabbed all the rest; except his foster brother, whom he led to a window, and making him sit down, bad him sing him the most melancholy air he could recollect, the young man being remarkable for a very fine voice.

This command was not immediately complied with; horror and grief, the execrable barbarity he had just seen exercised, and by a man too with whom he had always lived as a friend and a brother, the latter having been the constant appellation they had given to each other through a course of many years, had deprived him even of speech: but Gavaret gave him time to recover his senses so far that he thought it possible to mollify the cruel wretch, and to awaken gentler sensations by the recollection of former familiarity; he therefore sang a favourite air, accompanying it with the most touching attitudes, and petitionary

countenance; but as soon as he had finished it, the execrable monster, whom in vain he endeavoured to move, swearing that no one but himself could properly finish so noble a tragedy, stabbed the young man first in the throat, and then in the heart, and threw his body, and those of his murdered companions, out of the window. Such tragic effects of popish zeal, so many dreadful instances of which had appeared within the last twenty years, must have more powerfully attached the huguenots to their religion, than the best sermons their ministers could preach; argument can only influence the reason, such events work on the passions; erroneous opinions may be calmly abjured, but treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty, must be abhorred *.

Another attempt.

THE other design on the king of Navarre's life, was committed to a soldier of the garrison of Fontarabia named Loro; and undertaken some months after that already related. An officer who had forsaken the king of Navarre, and wished to be reinstated in his favour, had, during the siege of la Fere, formed an enterprize on St. Sebastian; and to facilitate the execution, endeavoured to bribe some of the garrison of Fontarabia; flattering himself that success would secure a reconciliation with his former master. This attempt having come to light, put the Spaniards on forming an enterprize in their turn, though of a different kind; but they founded their hopes of success on this proof that the king of Navarre extended his views of conquest to so great a distance.

* Ibid. p. 419.

Loro

LORO being come to Nerac, where the king of Navarre then kept his court, addreffed himfelf to D'Aubigné; and having defired to fpeak with him in private, after complimenting him on his great reputation, the effential fervices he had rendered his party, his experience in the moft arduous undertakings, his great credit and power with his mafter, he told him that thefe confiderations had determined him to commit to his management one of the moft important affairs of Europe; no lefs in fine than the taking of Fontarabia. He then proceeded thus to explain the means of effecting it. "We have in the caftle "of Fontarabia only forty foldiers; I frequently, "with the confent of my brother, who is the "commander, lead twenty-five of the ableft "among them in fearch of plunder; which we "find in great plenty both on the river, and on "the land, by means of the good intelligence "between us and fome officers and gentlemen in "the adjacent parts; and as we are not very "apt to fpare either the boats or the perfons we "have plundered, we have hitherto remained "undifcovered. As I imagine nothing can be "more agreeable to your mafter, than to make "Fontarabia the frontier of his dominions, I "have taken a refolution to deliver it up to "him, on condition that he will give me an "adequate recompence; for which I only re-"quire your word of honour, as I am affured "you will perform all you promife with the "utmoft exactnefs. The manner in which you "muft proceed I have already confidered. "When the time of execution is arrived, you "muft conceal in the houfe of a gentleman in the "neighbourhood of Tallemont, on the river "Gironde, to whom I will direct you, a party "of

"of soldiers; and among them twenty-five of "the most brave and determined that you can "select; my men will expect me to land there, "as I usually do; and I will bring them to you "by degrees, four at a time, in the manner we "commonly practise when we form an ambuscade, and as fast as they arrive we will kill "them. We will then embark your men in my "boat, at such an hour as to reach the postern "gate of the castle in the night, which by "means of the watch-word will be opened to "us; and as my brother has on these occasions "only fifteen men left with him, we shall with "ease make ourselves masters of the castle; "where it will be necessary to kill all we find, "particularly my brother; for if he can keep "but one corner of a tower, he will be succoured, and we lost."

One cannot think without horror on those times, when the frequency of crimes of the blackest dye, should encourage a man to dare to confess, or pretend, intentions so detestable. They shocked D'Aubigné; and made him suspect the villain of different views; which suspicions were increased by his horrible countenance; a circumstance of some weight with a man who it has been already observed, had no little faith in the science of physiognomy. Loro's features must to such an one speak much in his disfavor; he squinted; his nostrils were uncommonly wide; his short broad nose turned up almost to his eyebrows; and his forehead was large, bloated, and prominent; which, with a gigantic person, gave him a very terrible appearance. But however strong the prejudices were that D'Aubigné had conceived against him, he

would

would not entirely neglect his offer; but sending him to lodge with a man in whom he could confide, he repaired to the king, and acquainting him with what had passed, offered to bring the man to him, "if," said he, "your majesty will "consent to receive him under such restraints "and precautions as Frontenac, to whom I will "communicate the affair, and myself shall pre- "scribe; for surely if there ever were an assassin, "this man is one: if he be not, the brutal affair "he proposes is dreadful to your enemies, but "highly advantageous to you."

The king was extremely angry at having such conditions as D'Aubigné and Frontenac required, imposed upon him; but they persisted in refusing to let his majesty see the man on any other terms, and he at length complied. They introduced Loro to him in a passage near the king's chamber, so narrow that only one person could pass at a time; and placing themselves, with each a poniard in his hand, between the king and Loro, they set their backs against one side of the wall and their legs against the other; having also obliged the king to wear a coat of mail, and to hold a short sword in his hand. In this manner passed the first conference; but the king not being satisfied without enquiring farther into the affair, met Loro the next day in an open plain, both of them on horseback: but D'Aubigné and Frontenac still persisted in their care; and being well mounted, placed themselves in such a manner between the king and the Spaniard, that the necks of their horses served as a barrier to his majesty; who being a stranger to fear, bore with impatience the effects of their just apprehensions; and that he might be at liberty to treat with

Loro

Loro in a manner more agreeable to him, he sent away D'Aubigné, to conduct a design he had conceived upon Brouage.

After D'Aubigné's departure, informations were sent to court from some of the soldiers in St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, (who had been gained over to the king of Navarre's interest at the time when, as before mentioned, an enterprize was planned against the former) of Loro's designs; with descriptions of his person, that the king might be on his guard against him. On this intelligence, contrary to his majesty's inclinations, he was seized and thrown into prison; which rendered him so furious, that he sought every means of destroying himself; being almost frantic with rage. Henry declined bringing him to a trial at Nerac, finding that he had been borrowed for this traiterous purpose by one of the princes of France, whose honour he wished to spare; and with whom he judged it not adviseable to come to an open and personal quarrel. It was therefore thought proper to remove the villain to Castel-Jaloux, where justice might take its course, without the affair becoming so public. As they were conveying him thither, they passed over the bridge of Barbaste, from whence the wretch threw himself into the river; the precipice down which he fell seemed to promise him certain death, but falling between two rocks where there was water enough to buoy him up (almost the only spot where he would not have been dashed in pieces) his conductors got to him time enough to save him; though not without great difficulty, as he tried by keeping his head under water to drown himself; obstinately resisting, to the utmost of his power, their endeavours

to

to get him on shore. When they reached Castel-Jaloux, he was brought to a trial, confessed the whole plot; was executed in prison, and his confession suppressed; to avoid giving offence to those concerned in the conspiracy, and rendering them irreconcileable enemies, from a consciousness that their treachery was discovered *.

THE king of Spain, much offended by the duke of Anjou's acceptance of the government of the Low Countries, and the troops he carried to their assistance; and also by the queen mother's pretensions to the kingdom of Portugal, who claimed it as her inheritance; sent two Castilian gentlemen into France, with offers of assistance to the king of Navarre, whose affairs were then in too desperate a situation to suffer him to refuse so powerful an ally: and D'Aubigné and monsieur de Segur were appointed to treat with them. When they met, D'Aubigné thus addressed them. "We come to you in such a manner as enemies "may meet, but such enemies as have not on "either side any perfidy with which to reproach "each other, nor ingratitude to estrange them. "You seek in us assistance, and opportunities to "revenge yourselves of those who have been "perfidious and ungrateful to you; we wish to "defend ourselves from those who have treated "us in the same manner; our interests therefore "are united: let us try whether mutual integrity, "and faithful observance of reciprocal engagements, can procure us success, and establish a "sincere friendship between us." D'Aubigné's negotiation with Spain.

THE plainness of this address was suited to Castilian manners, and pleased the persons to

* Ibid. p. 421.

whom it was made. They offered to pay 200,000 ducats to the king of Navarre, on his giving his word and honour that he would renew the war;—that as soon as he should have taken four towns of importance, the king of Spain would send him 400,000 ducats more;—the same sum on the first day of the next year;—and 600,000 yearly as long as the war should continue.

D'Aubigné and Segur returned to their master to obtain his consent to this treaty; but the duke of Anjou dying while they were on the road, gave rise to other views; and the negociation dropped. A little time after, the queen mother having reproached the king of Navarre with his entering into treaty with Spain, he replied, "Madam, I will arm against you all hell, where "you have so much interest, if you render it "necessary *!"

June 10. Death of the duke of Anjou.

The duke of Anjou having by his ill conduct disgusted his friends in the United Provinces; disappointed the hopes of Don Antonio, king of Portugal; and covered himself with shame, returned into France; where he lived retired, and despised, till the 10th of June, when he died of the complicated effects of his vices, and vexation †.

This event could not fail of having important consequences. The king of France had no children, and by the duke of Anjou's death,

* Ibid. p. 458.

† Guerra di Fiandra di Bentivoglia, parte 2. lib. 2. p. 44. De Thou, tom. vi. liv. 79. p. 178. Cayet, tom. i. p. 7.

Henry

Henry of Navarre became the next heir to the crown; a circumstance which alarmed all the zealous catholics, on account of his religion; and some of the principal nobility for more private interests. The family of Guise were sensible that the loss of the power they had so long possessed, would be the certain consequence of his ascending the throne; for under none but weak princes could they expect to maintain it. But if their ambition took the alarm, it was not in a manner to depress it. The event which seemed to bring Henry nearer the crown, they considered as a very powerful means of removing him farther from it; for by terrifying the catholics in the kingdom, and the neighbouring catholic powers, with the danger of having an heretic prince ascend the throne of France, they strengthened the league; and having a little time before appointed the cardinal of Bourbon, uncle to the king of Navarre, the head of it, they now declared him next heir to the crown, by double right; as being one degree nearer than his nephew, and also because that nephew was rendered by his religion incapable of succeeding to the throne of France. Though the cardinal was far advanced in the vale of years, yet he had still a sufficient share of ambition, or vanity (for ambition should belong only to stronger minds) to be pleased with the prospect; and had not discernment enough to perceive that he was no more than a puppet in the hand of the Guises; which they made such use of as best suited their towering designs; well convinced that when they ceased to prompt, his consequence would be annihilated.

THE

THE king of France's weak and vicious conduct, had rendered him so despicable in the eyes of the whole kingdom, that although a bigoted catholic, he was not even considered as a defender of that religion, to the superstitions of which he was so implicit a slave. The Guises were esteemed the bulwarks of the catholic faith; and they affected to charge the king with secretly favouring the huguenots, and alledged as one proof of it, his majesty's having sent the duke d'Epernon to treat with the king of Navarre; though the business with which he was intrusted was in reality in favour of the catholic religion; but very contrary to the interest of the Guises.

1585. The king invites Henry to his court.

THE king, sensible that he had no enemies so inveterate as that family, who under the pretence of religion aimed at his crown, was very desirous of gaining over Henry of Navarre, conscious that he must prove his most powerful defender. In this view he had deputed the duke d'Epernon to tell him that he considered him as heir to his crown, but could effect nothing to his advantage while he persisted in his heresy; urging him by all the reasons which policy suggested, to conform to the catholic church, and repair to his court; as by their united power they might be able to conquer those who were equally enemies to both, and whom neither of them alone could resist. The king of Navarre returned the king the strongest assurances of his fidelity; and gave him room to hope that he might be one day converted; but intimated that even while he continued in the reformed religion he might be of service to his majesty *.

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 131.

THE catholics who adhered to Henry, took occaſion from this overture to perſuade him to go to the king of France's court; but D'Aubigné prevailed with Monſ. de Segur, his chief counſellor, to oppoſe this advice very ſtrongly. The catholics, who knew Segur's diſpoſition, ſoothed him ſo artfully, that they brought him to agree to go thither himſelf; and when there, his vanity was ſo powerfully attacked by every ſort of flattery that could be beſtowed on him, that he changed his opinion entirely; and promiſed to determine his maſter to come to Paris †.

D'Aubigné prevents his accepting the invitation.

HAVING this in view, on his return he was laviſh in praiſes of the king of France; charging his miniſters with every thing that was reprehenſible in that court: and to ſtrengthen his intereſt, paid aſſiduous ſervices to the counteſs de Guiche, at that time Henry's favourite miſtreſs, with whom Segur was before on very ill terms. By ſuch meaſures he brought about a total change in his maſter's intentions, who, to the ſurprize and mortification of all his huguenot ſervants, determined to wait on the king.

NONE of them were more ſenſibly grieved at this reſolution than D'Aubigné; but it was his cuſtom on all occaſions rather to endeavour to prevent an evil, than to acquieſce ſupinely under it; and knowing Segur to be rather deficient in courage, he choſe to attack him where he was moſt vulnerable. Seeing him paſs through a ſaloon where the young gentlemen of the court were exerciſing, he with much ſeeming agitation, which the reſt of the company

† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 73.

naturally attributed to the violent exercise wherein he had been engaged, led Segur to a window, which opened on the rocks of la Bayre, and pointing to the precipice beneath, said to him, "I am commissioned by all the brave and "honest men in this room to inform you, that "this is the leap you must take, the day *your* "master and *ours* sets out for the court of "France."

SEGUR, astonished at so bold a menace, asked, "But who dare do that?" "If I cannot do it "alone," replied D'Aubigné, "here are gentle-"men enough ready to assist me." On this Segur turning round, saw about a dozen of the most spirited young men, who with a determined air, cocked their hats, as was their custom when any one looked them in the face; though they were totally ignorant of what was passing. Their formidable countenances so terrified Segur, that he went directly to the king of Navarre, not to recount his terrors, but to tell him that D'Aubigné openly called the countess de Guiche a sorceress, accusing her of having bewitched him; and that he had even consulted Hotteman the physician upon it, desiring him to prescribe some philtres to remove the effects of her witchcraft; adding, that a chief of the huguenot party had as many controllers of his actions as he had servants. He then related to him that Mons. de Bellievre, when he was there, having lodged over against the countess's apartments, and seeing her go to mass, without any other attendants than a bawd, a buffoon, a negro, a footman, a monkey, and a shock dog, asked D'Aubigné, how the courtiers could suffer that lady to go so ill accompanied, and not have the

politeneſs to attend her; alledging the honours paid at the French court to the king's miſtreſſes. "It is," replied D'Aubigné, "becauſe we "have in this court only a brave and generous "nobility, who reſpect nothing but virtue; "and that the pimp, the buffoon, footman, "negro, monkey, and ſhock dog, that accom- "pany her, are the only mean-ſpirited wretches "we have here *."

While Segur was thus employed in doing him ill offices with the king of Navarre, D'Aubigné, ignorant of what was paſſing, went into Poictou to make a ſhort viſit to his wife; but as he was on his return to court, he received advices, from the Sieurs de la Boulaie and de Conſtant, to avoid appearing there, as he tendered his life; the king having promiſed the counteſs de Guiche and Segur to cauſe him to be put to death. This information, which he received at Monlieu, inſtead of retarding, haſtened his journey; for leaving his baggage and attendants there, he took poſt, and alighting from his horſe at Madame de la Boulaie's, threw her into extreme terror, as ſhe knew the danger that threatened him. She moſt earneſtly intreated him to return back inſtantly; but animated by conſcious innocence, he was not to be moved from his purpoſe; only, contrary to his cuſtom, putting a poniard into his belt, he went up a private ſtair-caſe, that he might ſurprize the king, before, receiving notice of his arrival, he could give any orders in conſequence of it; and found him tête à tête with the counteſs in her apartment. Henry, diſturbed and confounded

Henry's reſentment againſt D'Aubigné.

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* Ibid. p. 75.

at his unexpected appearance, could not immediately determine in what manner he should receive him; which D'Aubigné perceiving, he assumed the same free air, and familiar expressions, that he was accustomed to use when they were in private conversation, and asked, "What "is the matter, my master? Can a prince so "brave be disconcerted? I am come to learn "in what I have offended; and whether the "return you intend making to my long services "are those of a good king, or of a true tyrant?" Henry with great emotion replied, "D'Aubigné, "you know I love you; but I beg you will "bring Segur into temper, who is strangely "exasperated against you."

Is pacified.

D'Aubigne' obeyed this command; but being well acquainted with Segur's disposition, did not think it necessary, in order to pacify him to alter the tone which had first given him offence; on the contrary, he frighted him so thoroughly with severe reproaches, and the fight of his poniard, that he dared no longer be angry; and as soon as D'Aubigné left him went to the king, and told him that his equerry was an honester man than either his majesty or himself; and to give a substantial proof that he no longer harboured any resentment, he caused D'Aubigné to be paid 2500 crowns, expended by him in journies undertaken by the king's command, of which he never expected to receive any part †.

The queen of Navarre, on her return to the king her husband, had reconciled herself to

† Ibid. p. 76.

every

every person except D'Aubigné; but neither private friendship, nor personal enmity could bias the integrity of his mind; and therefore being present at a council, where almost all the members advised to have her put to death, he remonstrated so powerfully against the harshness of such a proceeding, that they gave up the design; and the king very warmly acknowledged the obligation he had to him on this occasion, as his majesty was very averse to those violent measures; and it is probable was no less sensible than D'Aubigné, that it would be cruel at a time when the most dissolute manners were become general, if she alone should suffer death for incontinence *.

As D'Aubigné was obliged by his marriage contract to purchase an estate in Poictou, he bought one about this time, notwithstanding the opposition of some of the king of Navarre's servants, who judged it dangerous to suffer him to encrease his possessions and interest in that province; but he made them ashamed of inducing his majesty to interfere in affairs so trifling. The king had been strongly advised, for the same reason, to prevent his marriage with madem. de Lezay; but he shewed himself superior to such counsel: if he more easily complied with it in the latter transaction it is not strange, as the purchase of an estate could not appear to him so important to D'Aubigné's happiness as the success of his love; for Henry's great susceptibility in that article, might naturally make him feel too much for others, to be easily persuaded to disappoint a faithful servant, in a par-

* Ibid. p. 77.

ticular where his heart was ſo deeply intereſted. Though D'Aubigné ſecured his purchaſe, his thoughts were ſoon taken off from his private affairs.

The leaguers take arms.

THE apprehenſions of an union between the two kings, haſtened the proceedings of the leaguers; who by the power of money, rather than by force of arms, got poſſeſſion of a great many towns; while the king of France oppoſed them only by proclamations and declarations, which proved of no ſervice to him †. The deſire he had to gain over the king of Navarre led him to conſent that the huguenots ſhould retain their cautionary towns two years longer, the term ſtipulated being nearly expired; but they had refuſed to deliver them up, as the articles of the treaty by which they were granted had not been performed.

The league of ſixteen.

THE league publiſhed a manifeſto, whereby it appeared that their views were not confined to religion, but extended even to the king, under the maſk of reforming the government ‡. A private league was entered into by ſome of the citizens of Paris, whereby they obliged themſelves to inform the duke of Guiſe of every thing that paſſed; and dividing the city into ſixteen parts, appointed perſons who ſhould each in his diſtrict keep a conſtant watch; and alſo make it his buſineſs to ſpread every ſort of calumny that could increaſe the people's hatred of, and contempt for the king. From this

† Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 134, 135. De Thou, tom. vi. liv. 81. p. 456.

‡ Ibid. p. 454.

division

division of the city arose the name of the League of sixteen, an association greatly prejudicial to the king's affairs *.

The manifesto of the league containing several scandalous aspersions on the king of Navarre, he published an answer wherein he refuted them; and declaring such calumnies false and base, he offered to decide the difference between him and the league, by single combat with the duke of Guise; or by two, or ten, on each side; to save the effusion of the best blood of France, and that the people might be no longer afflicted with civil wars. But his challenge was not accepted †.

Whether to determine on peace or war, debated in Henry's council.

The huguenots had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies at variance, and engaged in a kind of covert war with each other; some of the catholics adhered to the king, but far the greater part entered into the league. The king of Navarre's council was divided as to the part he ought to act; he therefore assembled the principal of the huguenots to consult with them on the point. The assembly consisted of sixty persons, and he desired them to advise whether it was more eligible for them to sit as calm spectators of the disturbances in France, mixing some of their troops in the king's armies, without name, and without authority; or to fight separately in his cause; and seize such opportunities as should offer of strengthening themselves.

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 142. Cayet, tom. i. p. 12.
† Cayet, tom. i. p. 8.

The viscount de Turenne being first called upon to speak, expatiated on the propriety of waiting for further provocation, in order to give a stronger colour of justice to their arms; observed that by strengthening the king's forces under hand, their humility and moderation would recommend them to his favour; but that more formidable proceedings, by exciting his fears, would render them the objects of his hatred; and induce him to join with the leaguers to their destruction; against whom they had not sufficient means of defence. Twenty of the assembly had declared themselves of the viscount's opinion; when D'Aubigné was required to speak his thoughts on the occasion; which he did to the following effect:

D'Aubigné's speech.

"If truth were not at this time more needful "than discretion, the honour and respect due to "those who have already spoken would oblige "me to keep silence; but the oath I have taken "to God, to his cause, and to you, sire, force "me to declare, that in my opinion, to doubt "the justice of the occasion of our former wars, "is to trample under foot the ashes of our "martyrs, and the blood of our valiant soldiers; "to cover with ignominy the tombs of our "deceased princes, and noble commanders; "and to condemn to the death of traitors those "who still live, and have dedicated their lives "to God. It is even calling in question his "justice who has so far blessed their arms with "success, as to enable them to treat with kings "on the common rights of mankind; to curb "the violent persecutions with which they were "in all places afflicted, and obtain some seasons of peace for their church and their coun-

"try.

"try. It is even charging this aſſembly with "treaſon; for how could we dare to meet here "to deliberate on the choice of peace or war, "were we not well aſſured of the juſtneſs of "our cauſe? This is no ſeaſon to employ our-"ſelves in a retroſpective view of paſt events, "which can preſent us with nothing but "churches, towns, and families ruined, by the "perfidy of our enemies, and the puſillanimity "of thoſe who ſought to excuſe themſelves from "the labours and dangers to which God is "ſometimes pleaſed to call his ſervants. If you "arm, the king, we are told, will fear you; "and that if he fears he will hate you:—would "to God that hatred was yet to begin!—If he "hates you he will deſtroy you.—If we have "not yet felt the power of that hatred, very "uſeful has been the fear which has prevented "its effects. Happy will thoſe be who by "inſpiring fear ſhall prevent their ruin! wretch-"ed thoſe who draw it upon themſelves by be-"coming objects of contempt. In my opinion, "we ought not to be alone unarmed, while all "France is in arms; nor to permit our ſoldiers "to ſwear obedience, to thoſe who have ſworn "our deſtruction. Shall we teach them to "reverence the men whom ſelf-preſervation "obliges them to kill? and to march under thoſe "banners againſt which they ſhould direct their "fire? Conſider how contrary the leſſons they "learn in the different parties: there they "would fight for pay; with us the only reward "is a conſciouſneſs of having defended a juſt "cauſe, and the intereſts of our religion; there "they would enjoy the pleaſures of life; here "unceaſing labour. The deſire of glory is the "great incentive to excellence in every art,

"but

" but more especially in the art of war. Shall " our young nobility behold among us only " examples of ignominious supineness; while " they see our enemies acquiring honour! We " may sink their courage below the lowest of " the vulgar; but how shall we again in- " spire with valour, hearts so depressed and " abject? What is to become of our princes " of the blood, and the principal noblemen of " our party? Shall they give to their most " inveterate enemies the troops, and the autho- " rity, which they have gained by heroic acti- " ons? What confidence can be placed in " them by new soldiers, who have never been " witnesses of their valour?—Shall they annihi- " late their natural dignity? for they must " either debase it by submission, or lose their " honour by their indolence. We are told we " must shew our humility——but let not the " proofs of it be accompanied by meanness. " Let us remain capable of serving the king, " when his distresses call upon us; and of " serving ourselves likewise, when we are dis- " tressed; at a proper season let us bend our " knees to him; and swear fidelity with our " gauntlets in our hands; let us lay our victo- " ries, not our fears, at his feet. Our destruc- " tion is the pretence on which the leaguers " have shaken off the king's authority: it is " therefore necessary that our swords should " awe those whom the sceptre cannot con- " troul. Let not them reap the advantage of " our attachment to the king; it is sufficient " if we serve him in a collective body, who " would wish to dissipate and reduce us to " nothing. I shall conclude therefore with " observing, that if we remain unarmed, the " king

"king will despise us; contempt for us will "induce him to join our enemies; when united "they will attack, and easily destroy us, un-"prepared for defence. If we take up arms, "we shall become considerable in the king's "eyes, his esteem for us will lead him to apply "for our assistance; and thus strengthened we "shall reduce our enemies to reason."

THE king of Navarre found D'Aubigné's arguments much more agreeable to his natural valour, than the tame advice given by the viscount de Turenne; and with ardour signified his approbation; which it is probable had a greater share in bringing the assembly to vote for war, than all D'Aubigné's arguments *. Commissions for raising regiments were immediately signed; D'Aubigné was among the number to whom they were given; and Saintonge and Poictou were the provinces of his destination, where the prince of Condé was to be commander in chief.

War resolved.

D'AUBIGNE' left the court without delay; and a week after he had received his commission, while he was gathering recruits in l'Angoumois, being informed that La Motte, at the head of four regiments of catholic soldiers, was near, and intended to interrupt him in his business, he agreed with St. Gelais to attack him in the town of Contré, where he had fixed his quarters. D'Aubigné had 120 musketeers; St. Gelais 45 horse. As they proceeded to the execution of their design, their scouts found two of La Motte's regiments well intrenched at St.

D'Aubigné engaged in a dangerous attack on St. Mande.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 430.

Mande,

Mande, and ſuppoſing them to be only a party of free-booters, charged them; but were ſo warmly received, that D'Aubigné found it neceſſary to lead his troops to ſuſtain them, the enemy conſiſting of above 200 infantry, advantageouſly ſituated, and well intrenched. By a vigorous attack he drove them from their intrenchments; but they taking refuge in the houſes, defended themſelves ſo well, that almoſt every houſe coſt D'Aubigné a battle; and by delaying his progreſs, gave time to la Grange, the enemies commanding officer, to collect together forty of his men, to regain the houſe from whence he had been driven; and to add to the ſtrength of his intrenchments. It now became neceſſary for D'Aubigné to rally his men, in order to retake the houſe he had thus loſt; but the ſoldiers were ſo eagerly engaged in pillaging thoſe they had taken, that it was not poſſible for him to gather twenty of them to join him. In this extremity, that his ſmall number might not be diſcerned, he made his attack on the houſe which Le Grange had fortifyed, by breaking through the wall of the adjacent houſe, and ſet it on fire.

During two hours which this fight had continued in the town, ſome perſons who had fled, acquainted La Motte with what was going forward; whereupon quitting Contré with 260 muſketeers, he marched to St. Mande. On his approach, St. Gelais, perceiving his own men were in too great diſorder to be of much ſervice, ſent to advertize D'Aubigné that it was neceſſary he ſhould retire immediately from the town; but his advice could not be followed: D'Aubigné having taken by capitulation the houſe to which

which Le Grange had retired, was then bringing out the captain and ſoldiers from the burning houſe; and his men were ſo diſperſed, and ſo eagerly employed in plundering, that they could not either with eaſe or ſpeed be collected together. All therefore that he could do was to ſend Le Grange, and two thirds of thoſe who had ſurrendered with him, to St. Gelais; who endeavoured to rally ſuch as in a diſorderly manner came out of the town. La Motte being arrived, gave ſo vigorous a charge, that he drove D'Aubigné, with eighteen of his companions, into the houſe which was in flames, where there remained thirteen of the catholics, who had not had time to get out of it. In this deſperate ſituation ſome adviſed the putting to death the thirteen catholics, as dangerous companions; but ſuch a proceeding was ſo contrary to D'Aubigné's generous nature, that even danger could not reconcile him to it; he therefore, having firſt diſarmed, then employed them in a garret, in uſing all the means in their power to extinguiſh the fire; placing two ſoldiers to guard them, with muſkets ready charged, to fire if they attempted to give any aſſiſtance to the enemy without. The great houſe being in flames, thoſe who from aſſailants were now become the aſſailed, had no place from whence they could make any defence but an adjoining ſhed, the door of which was burnt down, and in its place lay two dead bodies, burning one on the other; where they were attacked by La Motte, after he had thrown up ſome intrenchments to defend the town from any attempts St. Gelais might make upon it. D'Aubigné had employed that time in the like manner, in order to render the ſhed more defenſible; but ſeeing the

enemy advance, he turned to his companions; and crying out, "Die we muſt; but let us die "nobly;" he took a halbert in his hand, and ſome of the others doing the ſame, they received La Motte's charge, and killed nine of his men. At the ſecond charge they ſlew ſeven: and when the enemy would have made a third, the ſoldiers not liking ſo deſperate a ſervice, would not come on, but cried out, "The fire will do the buſi- "neſs; they will burn in their hole like foxes."

Another company more bold, attacked the opening where the door had been, which was ſtopped up by the two dead bodies, and there found only D'Aubigné and one more to defend it; but they having killed the two firſt that advanced, their additional bodies ſerved as a rampart to the defendants, and diſcouraged any farther aſſault: but they were ſtill expoſed to other dangers, for they had now to fight with fire and ſtones, which from the great houſe, where the fire was in good meaſure ſubdued, were thrown on them in ſuch abundance, that they muſt have been ſuffocated, had there not been cloſe to the ſhed a little court, where each went alternately to take breath.

La Motte, although he ſaw the ſtreet covered with the dead bodies of his men, had compaſſion on his brave enemies, and ſent them bread and wine; beſeeching them to experience his clemency; and informing them that St. Gelais had twice attacked the intrenchments; but having been followed by few of his men, had neither power nor hope to ſuccour his friends: which was indeed ſo truly the caſe, that he remained in his poſt in expectation of ſome

some succours, not to assist, but to revenge his friends, who he supposed were reduced to ashes; till one of La Motte's soldiers informed him of the contrary, by calling out to an acquaintance in St. Gelais' troop, that the besieged could hold out no longer. St. Gelais understanding by this that his friends were still alive, encouraged his men so effectually to renew the assault, that a capitulation was agreed to by La Motte; whereby La Grange and his companions were to be exchanged for D'Aubigné and his party; but D'Aubigné, sensible that the enemy was reduced into a state far less formidable than at first, and having nothing more to fear from the fire which was extinguished, refused to consent to this agreement. The fight having continued eleven hours, and La Motte being as much tired of it as the rest of the combatants, consented to another kind of capitulation; whereby he agreed to go half a league from the town till D'Aubigné had carried off such of the dead as he chose; and then La Motte was to fetch those who had been slain on his side. In this fight were killed of the huguenots three gentlemen of rank, sixteen common men, and thirty wounded. Of the catholics fell 160 on the place; and 35 at St. Fresne the next day, where they were pursued by the prince of Condé; who had come, though too late, from St. Jean's to the assistance of D'Aubigné *.

Ten days after this dangerous enterprize, D'Aubigné and St. Gelais arrived at Brion, the former with but fifteen horse musketeers, and the latter with only his usual train of attendants,

* Ibid. p. 432.

all together amounting to twenty-eight, as three companies of foot of the leaguers troops were beginning to fix their lodgements in that town, designing to proceed to Brouage. With his musketeers D'Aubigné forced two houses: and St. Gelais halting where the smallness of his numbers was concealed from the enemies view by some trees, after beating a parley, summoned the catholic captains to surrender, in terms so high, that not doubting his superior strength, they capitulated, and agreed to deliver up their arms, to ask pardon on their knees of God and the king, for having been traitors to his majesty and the state; to which St. Gelais made them add under their hands, that they renounced the detestable article of the council of Constance, which says that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

They were then suffered to leave the town in separate companies, forty unarmed, who went to Brouage; seventy with their swords on, who retired to their own houses; and about sixty, to whom their arms were restored, on condition that they should use them in the king's service*.

Repairs to the prince of Condé.

When D'Aubigné had compleated his regiment, he repaired to the prince of Condé, who was then at the head of a small body of troops in Poictou. The duke de Mercœur commanded those of the league in the same province. Each was sensible of the weakness of his little army; though the duke's was superior in number to the prince's; and both were backward to engage: they continued encamped three days at no

* Ibid. p. 433.

great

great diſtance from each other, but ſeparated by the river Sevre, which neither dared venture to paſs. D'Aubigné, who was then camp-maſter to the prince, could not reconcile himſelf to this ſtate of inaction, and deſired he might be ſuffered to make a feint of encamping near Coulonge les Reaux, where the duke had appointed, for the next day, a general rendezvous of his army; obſerving, that by this means the duke's courage and reſolution would be tried, and they would better know what meaſures to purſue: that if the duke continued his purpoſe, undiſturbed at ſo unexpected an obſtruction, the party he ſhould lead might retire without any diſgrace to the prince; whoſe honour would not be engaged in it, as it would only paſs for a ſmall excurſion; ſo uſual to little parties in an army.

The prince of Condé approving of his propoſal, D'Aubigné poſted the prince de Genevois at St. Maſſire, with upwards of 500 horſe; and leaving quarter-maſters properly accompanied, at Coulonge, to carry on the feint, he ſet out with twenty-five choſen horſe on the road to Fontenai, where the duke de Mercœur was encamped; and meeting near Chaſſenon with forty of the enemies horſe, who had been ſent to make obſervation while the army was preparing to decamp, D'Aubigné made his trumpet ſound a charge at a conſiderable diſtance; and as the parts through which he marched were too woody for their numbers to be diſcerned, the enemy, ignorant of the ſtrength that approached, turned back, and betook themſelves to flight, till meeting with another troop, the addition gave them courage to halt. D'Aubigné having purſued them no farther than the country afforded him the means of

Makes the duke of Mercœur quit Poictou.

concealing the weakneſs of his party, ſent with all ſpeed to the prince de Genevois to advance to Coulonge; and at the ſame time diſpatched intelligence to the prince of Condé, who having held himſelf ready to march, came thither that night.

The prince ſent the next morning to offer battle to the duke; who appointed for the place of engagement, the park of the Jacobins of Fontenai. The two armies drew up in view of each other, but the day paſſed away in bravadoes, and the prince marched in the evening to Coulonge; the enemies, counſelled by their fears, took advantage of the night to quit their poſt, and retired with great precipitation and diſorder towards Nantz: the prince not inclined to hazard the certain advantages accruing to him from the duke's leaving the province, did not attempt to purſue him; but two companies of ſoldiers following without orders, plundered all the baggage of the duke's little army, killed fifty of his men, and brought away many priſoners †.

And the count de Briſſac.

The count de Briſſac ſtill remained at the head of a conſiderable body of the leaguers troops in Poictou; but D'Aubigné having obtained permiſſion to harraſs them with fifty horſe under his command, he defeated ſome ſmall parties; and receiving information that a ſtrong corps, commanded by captain St. Catherine, was poſted in a concealed place, convenient for the purpoſe, with a deſign of falling on his ſmall band, and taking them by ſurprize; he applied to

† De Thou, tom. vi. p. 525. Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 435.

ſome

ſome of the neighbouring huguenots for reinforcements; and thus ſtrengthened, he and St. Gelais marching all night, took the enemy as it were in his own ſnare, ſurprizing thoſe in ambuſcade, and ſurrounding them in ſuch a manner that they could not eſcape; the quarter they aſked was granted, on condition that they ſhould renounce the league. St. Catherine and moſt of his men entered immediately into the prince of Condé's ſervice, and never after quitted it. Thoſe who would not follow his example had their lives given them, but were diſarmed. Theſe ſucceſſes, important in their conſequences, gave ſo great an alarm to the count, that he uſed all ſpeed to paſs the Loire; conſidering that river as a good barrier between him and the prince's army *. Thus in fact, the prince owed to D'Aubigné the great advantage of remaining maſter of the province of Poictou; which an enemy far ſtronger than himſelf abandoned to him. The marriage of the prince of Conde with madem. de la Trimouille was newly agreed upon; and by that alliance the duke de Thouars her brother was brought over to the reformed.

THE prince of Condé thus become maſter of the field, laid ſiege to Brouage: D'Aubigné was poſted at St. Aignan; having under his command his own regiment, his company of light horſe, and ſix companies of horſe muſketeers, to prevent any ſuccours entering the town, through the marſhes between that poſt and the ſea. All things bore a favorable appearance, and the operations were carried on with good ſucceſs, when the prince received an account that the caſtle of

Siege of Brouage.

* Ibid. p. 436. De Thou, tom. vi. p. 524.

 Angers

Angers was taken by a few men of his party; who, not sufficient to maintain it, desired to be immediately succoured. As the possession of so considerable a place was important to the party, the intelligence was not neglected: a council was called; and it was there determined to send D'Aubigné with all speed, at the head of near 1100 men, to secure the conquest; giving him in charge, at all hazards, to throw some succours into the castle. He set out accordingly at break of day, but was overtaken at Tonai-Charante, by a messenger from the prince of Condé, who brought him counter orders.

The night after D'Aubigné's departure, as the prince of Condé was undressing, attended by his servants; one of them, who had more influence than men of greater rank and wisdom, told him that he wondered his highness should give to another the honour of such an undertaking; that it was an enterprize worthy of the prince of Condé; and promised too much glory to be committed to other hands than his own. The prince, equally unwilling to lose, or to give to another, an opportunity of acquiring honour, immediately determined, contrary to the resolution taken in council, to march himself to the succour of Angers; and in consequence remanded D'Aubigné. This change of measures occasioned a destructive delay; the prince spent eleven days in preparing for the expedition; and during that period, some places, which would have facilitated D'Aubigné's march, at the time he set out, fell into the hands of the catholics; and the marshal de Marignon was making advances to the relief of Brouage.

On

On the 8th of October the prince began his march at the head of about 2000 horse, leaving the rest of his army at the siege of Brouage. D'Aubigné led the van, and as they approached Chiché, meeting three regiments that were advancing to enter the castle of Chiché, he charged and defeated them; and the castle being then scaled, the prince of Condé left a small garrison in it*. Five days after, arriving by break of day at the abbey of St. Maur, on the banks of the Loire, D'Aubigné drove out a guard of Angevin gentlemen who defended it; and having seized the place, the prince left 120 men to preserve the possession †. When they arrived at the town of Beaufort, D'Aubigné descried at a distance a regiment of the enemies troops, commanded by Caravas, marching towards the town, with an intention of entering it; but D'Aubigné placing some of his men on an eminence, to retard the march of Caravas, he with the rest attacked the town, and reduced the inhabitants to deliver him up the keys; which on the prince of Condé's approach he presented to him. He would have charged Caravas, but the prince forbad it, saying, he was one of his friends; but the event proved his mistake, as Caravas was very active in the siege of the castle of Angers. The day following the prince was joined by monsieur de Clermont, with a reinforcement of near 800 men. After halting five days at Beaufort, the army proceeded on its march, and reaching Foudon, D'Aubigné defeated a regiment placed there to guard the passage; and on the 21st of October the army

October 8. The prince marches to Angers.

D'Aubigné takes the castle of Chiché and St. Maur.

And Beaufort.

October 21. The army arrives at Angers.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 443.
† De Thou, tom. vi. p. 532.

arrived at Angers; where they found the town possessed by 6000 of the enemy †.

The prince having appointed the place where his troops should encamp, D'Aubigné had a wide circuit to make in order to get to the post assigned him. As he advanced with part of his men, he was met by the count de Brissac at the head of sixty horse; 200 more were placed at a little distance to support him, who was come out of the town to meet a reinforcement which he expected under the command of D'Aubigné-D'Anjou, a captain in the catholic army. Brissac on his approach, as usual in encountering a party where any doubt can be made whether they are friends or foes, called out, "Qui vive?" The soldiers who were foremost, replied, "Vive le Roi;" but as Brissac knew that since the enmity that had arisen between the king and the league, the huguenots had made use of that term, he required the name of their commander; to which being answered, D'Aubigné, he halted till they came very near him; when thinking the soldiers had not the air of new levied troops, he desired their chief would advance, that he might speak to him; with which D'Aubigné having complied, Brissac discovered the mistake by the sound of his voice, for in person the two D'Aubignés bore great resemblance to each other, and retired with precipitation to the town; but so closely followed by D'Aubigné, and his little party, that they entered the suburbs together with the catholics; forced two barricades, and some houses; but

D'Aubigné enters the town.

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 444. Davila, lib. 8. p. 418.

were

were ſtopped from farther progreſs by the next barricade being ſet on fire; and two houſes that flanked it being well filled with ſoldiers, to increaſe the obſtruction by the additional fire of their muſkets †.

THE prince of Condé having good reaſon to believe that the caſtle had been delivered up to the catholic army, withdrew his forces to ſome diſtance; and ſent orders to D'Aubigné to quit the poſt he had gained, and return to the reſt of the army. D'Aubigné having experienced the great verſatility of the counſels which then prevailed, and ſuſpecting that the next day might produce a contrary opinion, returned for anſwer, that if his highneſs intended to withdraw the whole army, he approved his deſign, but if he had any intention of making a farther attempt on Angers, he could not hope to regain the next day the poſt he was then in, even with the loſs of a thouſand men; and that he would not remove from the place he was entrenching, except he received the order by one of the camp-maſters. Hereupon St. Gelais was ſent to him with a repetition of the order; and he withdrew his men from the town, though not without a renewal of the fight; as he would carry off not only the wounded, but the bodies of ſuch of his party as had been ſlain. Is recalled from it.

THE following day, as D'Aubigné had foreſeen, a reſolution was taken to attack Angers, and he was ordered to regain the poſt he had quitted. After having declared the attempt

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 445. De Thou, tom. vi. p. 533.

to be most desperate, he made his captains join hands with him in token of a promise to perish with him in the attack, rather than give ground; above a hundred gentlemen of other regiments, seeing these so resolute, joined them; some actuated by affection for D'Aubigné, others by a mad desire to distinguish themselves: but as they were proceeding to almost certain destruction, the duke de Rohan, moved by a noble frankness natural to him, reproached the prince so severely for the inconstancy of his resolutions, and for exposing so wantonly the lives of his brave soldiers, that he gave up his design, and a retreat was agreed upon; which Clermont and D'Aubigné were ordered to make good: an hazardous employment; and the reasons given for assigning it to them were, that if some must be exposed to so great a danger, the properest persons were Clermont, because he had acted injudiciously on the first taking the castle, in not giving timely assistance, as he might have done, to those who had seized it; and D'Aubigné, who was only a kind of an auxiliary in that army, belonging particularly to the king of Navarre *.

The prince retires from Angers.

D'Aubigné ordered to make good the retreat.

The difficult service required of these two officers, became the more hazardous, by the boldness with which the knowledge of the prince's retreat with the chief part of his army, had inspired those in Angers, who were not slow in endeavouring to harrass troops thus exposed to their attacks. In this extremity, having examined the road they were to take, D'Aubigné desired Clermont to leave him a small party, and to conduct the rest to the army;

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 446.

hoping

hoping by that means to perform the business with the loss of fewer lives; to which his companion readily agreed. D'Aubigné had observed a small town, named Sourgues, about half a league distant from Angers, to which he directed his march; harrassed all the way by the enemy who followed him closely, and obliged him to call up all his skill and conduct to defend himself from them. By the advantageous disposition of his men, and in some measure by their being concealed under the clouds of smoke, occasioned by continual firing for that purpose, he reached Sourgues without suffering any loss, or his numbers being discovered. He made a feint of intrenching himself there, and permitted some peasants to go to the enemies camp, who reported how he was employed. By causing all his drums to beat, and trumpets to sound, he made them imagine his force far greater than it was. They prepared every requisite for an attack on the place in the night, which they had little doubt of forcing by means of a good train of artillery; but D'Aubigné's opinion of the facility of the enterprize agreed too well with theirs to admit of his waiting for them; therefore, after driving all the inhabitants out of the town, in the close of the evening he led out his men through by-ways into the road to Mazai; where he arrived an hour before break of day, though not without being overtaken by a strong body of horse, which his disappointed enemies had detached in pursuit of him; but reached him only as he entered the town *.

When D'Aubigné joined the main army, he found the prince of Condé, who had wasted

* Ibid. p. 448.

ſome time at Beaufort in compoſing the quarrels of his officers, in the utmoſt conſternation, the enemy having ſent ſome troops to Saumur to intercept his retreat. Confuſion reigned in his council; every perſon giving different, and frequently contrary advice, ſo that no determination could be formed. In this perplexity D'Aubigné declared, that if they would truſt to him he would ſave both their honour and their baggage. His deſign was with 500 choſen men to ſeize with the utmoſt expedition on St. Dié and le Sevre, ſmall towns, but ſurrounded with good walls, towers, and in part with ditches, and well furniſhed with ſmiths and ſadlers, whoſe aſſiſtance was then extremely neceſſary for the preſervation of their horſes. St. Dié was on the banks of the river Sez, and le Sevre on thoſe of the Loire; whereby their paſſage on thoſe rivers would be greatly facilitated. Their ſituation was too deſperate to ſuffer them to heſitate on accepting any means offered for their ſafety; but as D'Aubigné well knew how variable the prince's counſels had been, he exacted an oath from him and his officers, that they would not fail in the execution of the plan he traced out for them; and that in the evening of the next day, they would ſend him the 500 men, already mentioned, to the chapel of St. Martin; the prince and the reſt of his army going the ſame night to St. Anne.

This being agreed upon, D'Aubigné with Bois-du-lis, Douciniere, and four others, embarked on the Loire, diſguiſed as traders in wine; and having diſcovered certain means of ſeizing the two towns, they learnt that 900 Germans were arrived at Nouan with intention to

join

join the enemy. This made fome alteration in their defign; and he and Bois-du-lis determined that one of them fhould with 120 of the 500 men that were to meet them at St. Martin, feize St. Dié; and the other with the remainder attack the Germans; whom by the favour of a furprize they did not doubt but they fhould rout and difperfe; and that during the confternation which the flying Germans would occafion, the prince's army might more eafily pafs the river, and penetrate into the province of Berri. Leaving therefore fome foldiers to guard fix great boats in which they had paffed, they went to the chapel of St. Martin; but when they arrived there they found not the troops that had been promifed them; nor did they learn the caufe of their difappointment till the evening of the following day *.

As the prince of Condé was marching towards St. Anne, Monf. de Rofni, afterwards duke de Sully, was brought him as a prifoner, having been taken as one of the catholic party; for which he had paffed, in order to travel with the greater fecurity through provinces that belonged to the enemy: he gave the prince fo terrible an account of the formidable armies of the league, with which all the adjacent provinces were filled, as, joined with the alarm he had conceived at being clofely purfued by the troops from Angers, the information of a junction between the king and the leaguers, and a very fevere edict publifhed juft then at Paris againft the huguenots in confequence of it, proved fufficient to deprive the prince and his army of all

* Ibid. p. 448.

hope

hope of escaping from their surrounding enemies; and the duke de Rohan, who had not taken the oath to D'Aubigné, prevailed on the prince to retire privately from the army, with a few officers, who could guide him through the least frequented ways; and thus to provide for his own safety. In pursuance of this advice he escaped into Bretagne, from thence into the isle of Guernsey, and then into England. The duke de Rohan retired to his own house †.

The prince's army disperses.

St. Gelais, though solicited to accompany the prince, alledged the oath he had taken to his friend; and instead of seeking his private safety in conjunction with his highness, undertook to be the conductor of the distressed army, thus abandoned by its chiefs. But the delay occasioned by this change of measures, had given the enemy time to fill St. Dié with soldiers; and D'Aubigné and Bois-du-lis, having received information of what had passed, set out to meet St. Gelais, and came up with him, as he and his frighted troops had reached the forest of Marché-noire, where the greatest part of his soldiers had cast away their arms; having no other hope of preservation but from dispersing, each seeking separately his own safety. Bois-du-lis, by means of some acquaintance he had in that part of the country, conducted St. Gelais, and a party of officers into Berri, without meeting with any opposition. Thirty officers put themselves under the conduct of D'Aubigné; who having gathered together as

† De Thou, tom. vi. p. 534. Oeconomies Royales, &c. de Sully, tom. i. p. 215. Dav. lib. 8. p. 420. Cayet, tom. i. p. 11.

many

many of the soldiers, who were all dispersed into different parts of the forest, as he could collect, advised them to pass the day there; at night to penetrate into la Beausse; and before break of day to seek for barns, or some other places of concealment, till the return of night should again set them at liberty; when their best course would be to enter privately, three or four only together, into the suburbs of Paris. They followed his instructions, and got unobserved into Paris without the loss of one man †.

D'Aubigné, who designed to repair to the army left at the siege of Brouage, among which was part of his regiment, had a much longer course before him, and every thing to discourage him from undertaking it; for all the circumjacent country was filled with catholic troops; but thinking his duty called him to join his regiment, no dangers could deter him from the attempt. With his thirty companions he passed the forest; and took shelter in a barn near the village of Chezé, with an intention to conceal himself there till the close of day; but in less than two hours he saw four companies of Italian soldiers galloping towards his retreat; two of which soon surrounded it, while the others kept at some distance. His companions would have had recourse to barricading the barn; but D'Aubigné, crying out "that was no place for such "measures," mounted his horse, and six of his friends doing the same, they attacked their besiegers, and broke their way through them. D'Aubigné's eyes being filled with dust, he pursued his course as far as Chezé, without

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 449.

seeing

feeing how he was accompanied; but having there recovered his fight, he perceived that only five of his companions were with him, one of thofe who had at firft joined him having been taken, and no others following the example fet them. Being informed that the reft of his friends were befieged in the barn by the Italians, he was preparing to go to their relief, when four catholic foldiers entered the village conducting eighteen huguenot prifoners, whom they had not deprived of their fwords; thefe were eafily delivered from their captors, and D'Aubigné making them draw their fwords, and change the humble mortified countenances of prifoners into an air of more intrepidity, returned with this reinforcement to the affiftance of his companions; and charging the Italians, delivered the befieged. As they were marching towards the foreft, they met in a covert way a fmall party of the enemy, confifting of thirty horfe; which having defeated, and taken the commander, D'Aubigné let him depart, on a promife that he would caufe the gentleman who had been taken in the fally from the barn, to be reftored to them. He told his friends, that had this officer been a perfon of greater power and confequence, the beft thing they could have done would have been to conftitute themfelves his prifoners, in order to fecure his protection; upon which the eighteen, whom he had refcued out of the hands of the catholics, complained that when they had found fuch a protector he had taken them from him; and leaving this defperate troop, went in fearch of fome perfon who would accept of them again in the like manner. D'Aubigné and his friends had the fame point in view, and wandered about in Beauffe and Vandomois, fur-

rounded

rounded with dangers; during which time they defeated two other troops of the enemy, ſeeking only ſome perſon of ſufficient rank and authority to ſecure their lives if they ſubmitted to him. After having paſſed ten days, marching all night and concealing themſelves in the day in foreſts and unfrequented places; yet often attacked by ſmall parties of the enemy; they got to the banks of the Loire, over-againſt St. Dié, where D'Aubigné had ſome property, and ſome friends. This encouraged him to think he might be received into the town; but as he would not hazard the lives of his companions, he determined to make the experiment alone. He told them, that if when he was on the other ſide of the water he gave them a ſignal, they ſhould come over to him on the return of the paſſage boat: and if he did not they ſhould go to a fiſherman to whom he directed them, and who had furniſhed him with the boats he had uſed in the beginning of his expedition; and by tying two boats together paſs all over in the night, and proceed to Saumeri, where he was well aſſured they would find a ſafe retreat, for ſuch time as was requiſite to refreſh them.

Having given theſe inſtructions, he left them concealed behind a cauſeway, (except one who ſtood on the higher ground to watch his ſucceſs) and entered into the ferry boat with ſeveral other paſſengers. Before he had got half way over the river, enquiring the cauſe of the ſmoke he ſaw on the oppoſite ſhore, he was told it came from a poſt where the people of St. Dié were obliged to keep a guard of twenty men. This intelligence alarmed him; but to return was impoſſible; his only hope therefore was that he might

might find ſome friend of his among them. But before he landed, a quarrel having happened between two officers in the town, one of them was come at the head of about twenty men to join the guard, ſwearing the deſtruction of the firſt huguenot he ſhould meet. D'Aubigné, now quite hopeleſs, after having ſaid a ſhort prayer, and the ſecond verſe of the hundred and forty-ſecond Pſalm, "I poured out my complaints before him, and ſhewed him all my trouble," landed in the midſt of this troop; but having with him a Neapolitan courſer, a ſpirited and furious beaſt, which had been ſent him as a preſent, it no ſooner ſet its two fore feet on land than it cut ſo many capers, and kicked with its hinder feet in ſuch a manner, as quickly diſperſed all the people who had gathered about the boat. D'Aubigné calling out to them to take care of themſelves, vaulted into the ſaddle, and hearing ſome of them ſpeak his name, he drew his ſword, and breaking through them, rode away with his utmoſt ſpeed; while they fired after him without doing him any damage; nor could they attempt to purſue him till they returned to the town for their horſes; which gave him leiſure to get beyond their reach.

His friends having ſeen what had paſſed, laid aſide all thoughts of going the ſame road; but croſſed the river by means of the boats he had indicated to them; and proceeding to Saumeri found him there, ready to receive them; and by a ſtroke of additional good fortune, met the officer who had been taken priſoner near Chezé, and having made his eſcape, paſſed the river with them. With little leſs danger they croſſed Berri, le Limouſin, Poictou, and Saintonge;

tonge; being obliged by the depth of the rivers in their road to travel to their ſources; and at length, without having diſguiſed themſelves by wearing the enemies colours, without being favoured by any ſafe places of retreat, but not without being obliged to fight ſeveral times, they arrived at Brouage, as the huguenot army was raiſing the ſiege, on the approach of the marſhal de Matignon; which was not till the end of *October* *.

D'Aubigné arrives at Brouage.

The ſiege raiſed.

THEN only were the huguenots certainly informed of the union between the king of France and the leaguers. It was agreed in the month of July: an edict had paſſed whereby was annulled all that had been before publiſhed in favour of the reformed, and their miniſters were commanded to leave the kingdom on pain of death. The laity were ſummoned to abjure their religion, and make an open profeſſion of the catholic faith within ſix months, or to depart out of his majeſty's dominions †. All the proceedings of the leaguers were acknowledged as done for the king's ſervice, on condition that they laid down their arms, and for the future relinquiſhed all leagues and aſſociations whatſoever, whether within or without the kingdom. Though the king had entered into this agreement, yet he continued wavering; ſenſible that he was putting himſelf into the hands of the *Guiſes*, he could not reſolve to publiſh this edict till the month of October, when the diſperſion of the prince of Condé's army had reduced the reformed into ſo low a contition, that he ſaw no

A ſevere edict againſt the huguenots.

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* Ibid. p. 452.

† Hiſt. du Connetable de Leſdiguieres, p. 104.

 prospect

prospect of assistance from them; and then, to recompence the leaguers for his delay, he added to it another edict, wherein the fortunes of all who did not abjure within a fortnight were declared to be confiscate; with orders to prosecute those who continued in their heresy, as guilty of treason.

It may easily be imagined that during D'Aubigné's very tedious march from Angers to Brouage, he had no opportunity of informing madame D'Aubigné of his situation. Common fame reported him to have been killed in the retreat; and for three weeks the melancholy intelligence was frequently confirmed to her; but though, from her knowledge of his great readiness to expose his person to every danger, the event was but too credible, yet he had been so often amazingly preserved through the most perilous enterprizes, that she was not absolutely deprived of hope, till she saw part of his field equipage, fifteen horses, and seven of his baggage mules, on one of which was laid his hat and his sword, enter into the court-yard of her house. This appeared such a confirmation of the dreadful event, that she fainted away, and was a considerable time before she could be restored to any sensation. She then learnt that she might still hope, and that the occasion of the return of his equipage, was his having ordered it to follow his regiment, when he retired from the suburbs of Angers, keeping only what was necessary for his immediate use. As soon as he had reached Brouage, and found himself at liberty to return home, he acquainted madame D'Aubigné with his approach; and by letters dispatched at different times while on his journey,

D'Aubigné returns home.

ney, endeavoured to prevent the bad effects which might arise from sudden and unexpected joy *.

Seeing himself once more in the bosom of his family, where he had not arrived but through an infinite number of dangers; he flattered himself that he should for some time be suffered to receive consolation for the depressed state of his party, from the calm and quiet enjoyment of the society of a wife and children whom he tenderly loved, but whose company he had had but little leisure to enjoy. The reformed seemed reduced too low to make head against the enemy; being therefore useless to the public, he thought he was at liberty to indulge himself in the gratification of his private affections; and that he had now no other part to act than that of the husband and the father: but he was soon convinced of his error; and madame D'Aubigné found that the peaceful pleasures of domestic society, were not to be possessed by a woman, married to one of the chiefs of a party. Few of her sex are of so heroic a disposition as to find in the general, or in their own private esteem and admiration of their husbands, a sufficient compensation for the continual fears, which in such situations must oppress their minds. Madame D'Aubigné seems to have been rather a tender, than an heroic wife; and better formed to render his domestic life happy, than to glory in his dangers, and appropriate to herself a share of the honour that he gained at the continual hazard of his life.

The reformed were never in so desperate a situation as at that time. The king of Navarre

The desperate state of the huguenots.

* Hist. Sec, D'Aub. p. 79.

was kept inactive, by the hopes the king of France had given of uniting with him against the leaguers. In this expectation, and to avoid giving umbrage to that prince, the king of Navarre had fixed his residence at Bergerac, without any army under his command. That of the prince of Condé, by the fatal step he had taken, was entirely dispersed; and most of those who composed it, seeing no standard erected by their own party to which they could repair, and frighted at the punishments denounced against them in the new edict, sought their safety by entering into the catholic army. The bad success at that time of the reformed in Holland and Germany, deprived the huguenots of all hope of foreign succours; and to complete their distress, famine and pestilence were joined to their other evils. The catholic generals put garrisons in all places adjacent to la Rochelle, and St. Jean d'Angeli, to prevent any provisions being brought to those towns, of which they began then to be in want; and meeting with no enemy there to oppose them, led their troops into Guyenne, where they hoped to get the person of the king of Navarre into their hands.

THE prosecutions threatened by the edict began as soon as the term specified arrived*; and the courage of the huguenots was so much depressed, that many gentlemen of the reformed persuasion in Poictou and Saintonge, entered into private capitulations with the governors of the provinces, to secure the possession of their houses and estates; on which condition, the greater number promised to renounce all con-

* De Thou, tom. vi. p. 541.

nections

nections with their party. But still there remained some who were not so easily intimidated. The duke de Rohan, the count de Laval, the baron de St. Gelais, with a few others of equal rank, and the citizens of Rochelle, as the spring approached entered into an agreement to recruit their regiments, and give the command of them to D'Aubigné; and by an invitation to accept of it, and to recruit his regiment, soon broke into the plan he had laid down to himself of enjoying a season of domestic peace; which not being willing so immediately to relinquish, he returned for answer, that he was not yet sufficiently recovered from the fatigue of the burden with which they had oppressed him at the retreat from Angers, to be able to support a new weight. But the affection he entertained for those who sollicited him, joined to the exhortations of the ministers, who adjured him in the most solemn terms to rear his standard once more, and rouse the depressed spirits of their party, prevailed; and he gathered together the four companies he had under his command at the siege of Angers; the Rochelese having furnished him with arms, ammunition, and baggage mules, necessary for his regiment *.

A.D. 1586.

D'Aubigné again enters into action.

He appointed Rochefort for the place of his first rendezvous; and in four days time collected 800 men. St. Luc had drawn the forces out of Saintonge, in order to charge these new-raised troops; but some reinforcements having encreased D'Aubigné's numbers to near 1400, he marched into Poictou; where Laverdin and Malicorne were well prepared to receive him. Having taken

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 8.

Beauvais-sur-Nyort, and fixed his quarters there, he sought to gain advantages by stratagem, which he could not expect in the open field, against an enemy so much superior to him in strength: he therefore detached fifty men with colours flying, at two o'clock in the afternoon to St. Jean de Marigni, a small town about a league distant from the place where the catholics were posted; and in the night selected 200 more, which in separate companies of ten each were to enter privately into the town; having previously marked out to the captains by heaps of stones the way they were to go, and where they were to post themselves. As he had foreseen, Laverdin, at the break of day, led some of his best troops to give a camisade to St. Jean de Marigni; but finding that those who began the attack met with a very rough reception, and having reason to suspect the stratagem, he suffered himself to be directed by the fears of his troops, and in great confusion hastened back to Nyort. D'Aubigné had at his return from St. Jean a favourable opportunity of surprizing a battalion of the enemy at Coué, but his officers opposed his attempting it with so small a force, reproaching him with his rash attack on St. Mandé, and intimating that he would lead them into the like danger. He unwillingly gave up the point, and having led them to their quarters, he, with seven of his most experienced captains, actuated as he acknowledges more by pique than prudence, went privately to Coué, and attacking the principal barricade, forced the guard, and having killed about a dozen of the enemy, returned to his troop with sufficient proof how easily the enterprize might have been effected, had not their fears prevented. But they were still more severely mor-

mortified the next day, when they found that they had excited so great a terror in the battalion they had attacked, that it had fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the baggage behind, and had not acquired courage enough to rally till it arrived at Mirebeau.

D'Aubigne' having removed his quarters to La Motte St. Herai, Malicorne apprehended he designed besieging St. Maixant; which determined him to put a strong garrison into it, in order to provide for its defence. As he was conducting them thither, D'Aubigné, who was going to mark out a lodgement for monsieur de Draqueville's company, accompanied by ten chosen men, met in a small wood an advanced party of Malicorne's troop, consisting of thirty gentlemen of rank; and to their question of "Qui vive?" answered, "Chargé;" upon which the catholics, believing their enemies much more numerous, fled back to their main body; who on the alarm given drew up in order of battle: but perceiving that they were not pursued, they began to suspect their error; and returning to seek those who had with so little reason excited their fears, found they had turned into another road; where being joined by Draqueville's and another company, they advanced towards Malicorne, who was by that time returning to Nyort; but such of the reformed as were well mounted came within pistol shot of the enemy, with whom they had some slight skirmishes.

Some of the reformed who had entered into the catholic armies, finding that their party began to rise, came over to them; and by such addition D'Aubigné's forces being increased to 2000

Takes Tors

2000 men, he took Tors, and ſome other ſmall places *.

About this time the return of the prince of Condé to Rochelle gave new courage to his party; and the Rocheleſe, determining to make an effort towards opening a free acceſs to their town for the communication of proviſions, furniſhed the count de Laval with artillery and ammunition, ſufficient for the attack of the towns, whoſe garriſons blocked up the paſſage to Rochelle. They alſo gave him the command of one of their regiments; to which 400 foot, and ſome horſe being added by monſieur de Plaſſac, the count joined D'Aubigné, and they laid ſiege to Soubize; which being capable of but little reſiſtance, the governor, imprudently, on the word of a relation of his in the huguenot troops, came into their camp without any previous notice, or ſafe conduct; and knocking at the chamber door where the beſiegers were ſitting in council, deſired to treat on the terms of a capitulation. His life would have paid the forfeit of his raſhneſs, had not D'Aubigné, more generous than the reſt, intereſted himſelf for him; but the only conditions he could obtain were, that the people's lives ſhould be ſpared, and the officers remain priſoners of war. The garriſon immediately abandoned the walls, no longer keeping guard; but to prevent any infringement of the terms granted them, D'Aubigné ſupplied their places, and guarded the town and its inhabitants from any injury from the ſoldiery. The reſt of the places which annoyed Rochelle ſubmitted without reſiſtance †.

And Soubize.

* Ibid. p. 10. † Ibid. p. 11.

How-

However useful these successes might be to the general cause, they did not preserve D'Aubigné from great distress. The expence of maintaining so many men was above his power; unassisted in that particular, he found himself reduced to extreme indigence; unable to provide even for his own support; and sensible that it would be difficult to preserve his authority over a starving soldiery, whom he had not the means of relieving. In this exigence he sought for more plentiful quarters, and determined either to take the isle of Oleron, or to perish in the attempt. He communicated his intention to the count de Laval, and monsieur de Plassac; who considering that island as an useful acquisition to the party, and being strictly united by the bands of friendship with D'Aubigné, promised, if he succeeded, to succour him when the catholics should endeavour to recover it; which it was to be imagined they would immediately attempt. The count engaged to bring to his aid all the ships of war that were at Rochelle; and monsieur de Plassac to send him two companies out of his regiment; on D'Aubigné's giving his word that if he got possession of the island, he would resist all attacks against it for twice twenty-four hours, to give them time to bring the promised succours. Is much distressed.

Having procured five vessels, he put on board of them the cannon, the arms, and the ammunition which had been found in Soubise; and which belonged to him, as the artillery led by the count de Laval had not been made use of; and selecting 500 from his 2000 men, communicated to them the enterprize on which he was going, without endeavouring to conceal the dangers that attended it: chusing rather to have a few

few resolute men to assist him, than by encreasing his number to hazard an impediment from the fears of any of his companions, he gave permission to such as did not wish to be of the party, to try their fortunes under the conduct of some young captains who came with the prince of Condé to Rochelle, to whom he recommended them. Two hundred and fifty of them hamstrung their horses, as being then of no use, and refused to leave him, which encreased his troop to 750. Seven companies of those who did not chuse to embark in so dangerous an enterprize, were three weeks after defeated by the catholics.

The fears shewn by so many of sharing in this undertaking, might in some measure occasion D'Aubigné's being guilty of a bravado which nearly proved fatal; though it must be allowed he was too much addicted to such sort of imprudences, without being stimulated by an apprehension of appearing too ready to lead others into danger. Expecting to meet with a vigorous opposition on entering the island, he forbad any persons setting foot on the ground before he landed; and embarked in a small boat, accompanied with only one officer, beside captain du Brou, who rowed it. As he was going to board a vessel which he believed to belong only to fishermen, he discovered that it was a ship of war, commanded by captain Medelin, a brave officer, and in great reputation; who hoisting his sails, bore down on the future governor of Oleron. De Brou immediately cried out, "You "are lost! the only chance left us is to pass by "the ship's prow:" they accordingly rowed up to it directly; and as they approached very near it, captain Medelin ordered his soldiers, who were sixty

ſixty in number, to fire all at once into the boat; but the precipitation with which they executed the order, made them take their aim ſo ill, that De Brou was the only one wounded; and that ſo ſlightly, that having got a little beyond the veſſel, he ſtood up, and called to them, "Go "hang yourſelves, you villains; you have "miſſed the governor of Oleron:" which drew on them a diſcharge of cannon, but with as little effect as the firſt fire. This ſmall party ſoon after reached the land, and were joined by a few of the troops, who had paſſed over in other boats; and their appearance proved ſufficient to conquer the iſland; the people running away without attempting to make the leaſt reſiſtance *.

Takes the iſle of Oleron.

D'AUBIGNE's firſt care was to fortify the caſtle of Oleron, and to ſeparate it from the town; as the extent of the two buildings required a greater number of men to defend them than he had under his command. He raiſed 46 barricades, with trenches on each ſide the caſtle; and the enemy allowed him longer time for this buſineſs than he expected; St. Luc not attempting to recover the iſland till twelve days after it was taken, but he then landed with 5000 men. On the report of his preparations, monſieur de Plaſſac, faithful to his promiſe, and even exceeding the terms of it, ſent three companies to D'Aubigné; but the plenty they found in the iſland afforded them a more agreeable employment than fighting, and rendered them of leſs uſe than he wiſhed. On St. Luc's landing, D'Aubigné having drawn out his troops, theſe

* Ibid. p. 12.

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auxiliaries did not come to their poſt till three hours after the time appointed, and then in a confuſed, diſorderly manner; nor would they have reached their poſt before it was ſeized by the enemy, had not D'Aubigné by ſkirmiſhes obſtructed the march of the aſſailants. St. Luc diſpoſed his men in ſuch a manner as to attack D'Aubigné's intrenchments on all ſides, at the ſame time, which his ſuperior numbers rendered by no means difficult. By making their way through the cellars, they gained an entrance into the town near the poſt where the three new companies were placed; entering within twenty-four of the barricades, which were by this means become uſeleſs: D'Aubigné led freſh forces thither, and drove them again out of the town; but they being reinforced, returned; and regained the advantage firſt obtained, by the want of due order amongſt thoſe to whom the defence of that part had been entruſted. St. Luc cauſed two cannon to be brought from his ſhips; and the tide running high, his galleys entered the harbour, and aſſiſted him with their fire; while ſeveral of D'Aubigné's ſoldiers walked into the water as high as their girdles, and did great execution among thoſe who rowed the veſſels. The fight continued the whole day, and the following night; a full moon affording ſufficient light for that purpoſe.

Is attacked by St. Luc.

THE prince of Condé was at that time beſieging Dampiere, accompanied by the count de Laval, and monſieur de Plaſſac; who receiving intelligence of what was paſſing at Oleron, were greatly alarmed for their friend: and the count, to fulfil his promiſe, repaired with all ſpeed to Rochelle, and in eight hours ſet ſail with thirty

ſhips

ſhips to his relief; but having taken a large man of war before they reached the iſland, a diſpute aroſe who ſhould have the glory of carrying it to Rochelle. While they were thus engaged, a galley came up with them, and reported that all contention in Oleron was over, the fire having ceaſed. Some who were better informed inſiſted that the enemies fleet was at their mercy, having none on board to defend it but cabbin-boys; which was the real fact: but the multitude prevailed; and the ſhips all returned to Rochelle, to ſhare the honour of their capture.

THE prince of Condé marched twelve leagues without halting, and arriving at midnight at Chapus, heard that his friends were ſtill defending themſelves; but at eight in the morning, St. Luc, worn down with fatigue, and ſtrongly importuned by his officers, withdrew his troops and returned to his ſhips. Though his enemies were not leſs tired, they harraſſed him in his retreat, and took ſome priſoners, and part of his ammunition. Of the catholics were killed near 400 men; the killed and wounded on the other ſide fell ſhort of fifty *.

Repels the aſſailants.

ST. LUC having divided his forces when he left the iſland, the prince of Condé, with Monſ. de la Trimouille and the count de Laval, purſued one of his ſtrongeſt detachments, wherein the count diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, and defeated the corps with which he was engaged; but the joy that aroſe from it was momentary, for two of his brothers were mortally wounded in

* Ibid. p. 15. Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 151.

in the fight †, and ſoon after died in his arms. He had a few days before loſt another brother in the ſame manner. Such accumulated miſfortunes overcame his conſtitution, and he died of grief ‡. Thus within the ſpace of a few days periſhed the four ſons of the brave D'Andelot; inheritors of their father's virtues, and worthy nephews of the noble admiral de Coligni: an irreparable loſs to their party, and a heavy affliction to their friends, among whom none were more ſenſibly affected than D'Aubigné; but the friendſhips of the ſoldier were at that period of ſhort continuance; the ſword did not leave to time an opportunity of trying the conſtancy of the attachment.

He fortifies Oleron.

The greateſt part of the count de Laval's company entered into D'Aubigné's ſervice, which ſtrengthened his forces; and the people of the iſland having gathered together a great quantity of proviſions to give to St. Luc, who they expected would drive out their conquerors, finding affairs take a contrary turn, brought them to D'Aubigné, telling him at the ſame time, "Sir, we ſhall not pretend to diſguiſe "the truth; this preſent was deſigned for him "who ſhould remain maſter of the iſland." To render the place more tenable, D'Aubigné erected a citadel, which within a fortnight was in a ſtate of defence; and in three months time it was ſurrounded with two deep ditches, the one filled with ſea water, the other with ſpring water; and both plentifully ſtocked with fiſh of every kind §.

† Dav. lib. 8. p. 424. De Thou, tom. vi. p. 665.
‡ Cayet, tom. i. p. 26.
§ Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 82.

DURING this time the reformed took Auſſonne, a frontier town of Burgundy, rather by ſtratagem than by force. The marſhal de Matignon having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Caſtets, which annoyed the people of Bourdeaux, the approach of the king of Navarre, though at the head of but a ſmall force, determined him to raiſe the ſiege †. From thence Henry, in whoſe breaſt war never extinguiſhed love, nor did love damp his martial ardor, made an excurſion to Pau to ſee his miſtreſs ‡; an imprudence which expoſed him to much danger; for the marſhal, and the duke de Mayenne, took every meaſure to ſeize him in his return; but he eluded them all, and arrived ſafely at St. Foix; where being informed that the baron de St. Gelais was engaged by the Rocheleſe in an attempt to ruin, or at leaſt to damage the port of Brouage, which was better than their own, he went thither; and expoſing his perſon in every ſkirmiſh between the reformed troops and thoſe of St. Luc, governor of Brouage, he was frequently in extreme danger, but always came off unhurt §.

D'AUBIGNE', though much moleſted by the frequent deſcents made on the iſland, by the garriſon of Brouage, ſent a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of St. Gelais, which proved very conducive to the ſucceſs he had in damaging the harbour of that town, and rendering it no longer an object of envy to the mercenary Rocheleſe, whoſe view was by that means to bring more trade to their own port. Sends ſuccours to St. Gelais.

† De Thou, tom. vi. p. 662. Cayet, tom. i. p. 24.
‡ Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 151.
§ Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 19.

FROM

Receives Henry in Oleron.

FROM Rochelle the king of Navarre passed over into the isle of Oleron, to visit the fortifications; but would not review the garrison, because the count de la Rochefoucaut had told him, that he would see among them above 200 soldiers with scarlet breeches and laced clothes; a token of opulence, which, added to the magnificent entertainments D'Aubigné gave the courtiers, being more inclined to enjoy his newly acquired plenty than to endeavour to provide against a return of indigence, drew upon him the envy of his master and his court; and occasioned him some mortifications; among which was the following.

Is ill treated by the king.

A YOUTH of a good family in Rochelle, who was a private soldier in Oleron, had refused to obey a corporal in the regiment, and treated him with contempt. The officers met in council, and the disobedience having been proved, as well as the youth's knowledge that the corporal was intitled by his office to command him, he was condemned to be shot; but D'Aubigné, mitigating the sentence, only cashiered him. An aunt of the young man's having got access to the king of Navarre, through the interest of a handsome cousin of her's, complained to him of the rigorous treatment her nephew had received; and the king, readily taking the opportunity this seemed to offer for mortifying D'Aubigné, sent for him by the door-keeper of the council. D'Aubigné, imagining he was summoned to the council to give his advice, on the measures to be taken in consequence of marshal Biron's approach, of which they had received intelligence, was much surprized to see the youth in question, with the mayor of Rochelle, and twenty other re-

relations, waiting at the door of the council-chamber. As ſoon as D'Aubigné entered, the king began bowing, and in an ironical manner addreſſed him with, "God preſerve you Ser-"torius, Manlius Torquatus, Cato the Cenſor; "or, if antiquity will furniſh you with the "name of any other captain ſtill more reſpect-"able, God preſerve you alſo under that ap-"pellation."

D'Aubigne', piqued at this addreſs, replied, "If any point of diſcipline is in queſtion, per-"mit me, Sire, to except againſt your being "among my judges; as your diſlike to military "diſcipline renders you a party in this affair." The king ſubmitted to the exception, and with-drew. D'Aubigné, as a perſon accuſed, refuſed to take his ſeat among them, and made his defence ſtanding; in which he confined himſelf to a few words; ſaying only, that what he had done was on the young man's refuſing obedience to his officer. Mr. de Voix, who preſided in the council, having gathered the votes, began by returning thanks to D'Aubigné for maintaining diſcipline among his troops; and encouraging him to perſevere in the ſame conduct, added, "One thing only have we to cenſure in your "proceeding, which is, that after having "ſo juſtly condemned to death a mutinous "ſoldier, you took the liberty to commute his "puniſhment; a privilege alone appertaining to "the general." D'Aubigné, very well pleaſed to be cenſured only for too great clemency, re-preſented to the council that the rank of gover-nor of Oleron, commander on the ſea with which it was environed, with the commiſſion which gave him the power of founding artillery, and of

giving battle, entitled him to grant that pardon. The council admitted the justice of his defence; and blamed the king for his averseness to the discipline and police so necessary for the good government of an army *.

D'Aubigné did not long enjoy the satisfaction and plenty which the isle of Oleron afforded him. St. Luc being informed that the greatest part of the garrison of Oleron were gone to make an attempt on Saintes, contrived, by means of a secret intelligence with some of the inhabitants, to convey, unseen, 400 men into the island, and conceal them in cellars, and gardens in the town; and then led a small party of forty, or fifty, to attack the village of Orte, where a few days before a little troop of his had been defeated. One of the boats in which he had passed his men could not, like the rest, be got off the sands; and by that means proved of great advantage to him; for D'Aubigné not suspecting any others had approached the shore, imagined he had no enemies to contend with but what that vessel had transported; therefore leaving only seven men in the fort, out of the fourscore which were all he had then in the island, he divided the rest into two bands; and sending one to oppose the enemy at Orte, led the other to a convenient place to cut off their retreat to their vessel; but he soon saw two strong corps between him and the fort. The fear of losing it, rendered him desperate; and determined either to save the place, or to perish in the attempt, he furiously charged those who intercepted his passage, though assisted only by sixteen of his soldiers. But neither death nor

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 85.

victory awaited him; he was overpowered, and beaten to the ground; when rising again, and finding it impossible to make his way to the fort, he forced a passage towards the sea shore; but was there also intercepted by another troop, still more numerous. Being now grown entirely desperate, he sought only to sell his life as dearly as he could. His amazing intrepidity inspired his enemies with a desire of saving him; St. Luc, naturally brave, respected courage even in an enemy, and making his men surround him, took him prisoner. He treated him generously, assuring him his life was safe, except the king or queen mother should take him out of his hands *.

Is taken prisoner.

A RECIPROCAL friendship soon grew on the mutual esteem these two brave men had long entertained for each other; and some little time after D'Aubigné became his prisoner, St. Luc gave him leave on his parole to go to Rochelle, on condition that he should return to Brouage by five o'clock in the evening, on the following Sunday, if not prevented by death or imprisonment. On the Sunday morning a messenger came to Rochelle from St. Luc, to desire D'Aubigné not to return as he had promised; some ships of war from Bourdeaux being come for him, with letters from the king to St. Luc, denouncing ruin to him and his, if he did not deliver up his prisoner, whose death was determined.

A VERBAL message of such a nature would by most men have been deemed sufficient; but D'Aubigné did not think his honour disengaged,

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 21.

as his promiſe had not been remitted to him by the mouth, or hand, of the man to whom he had given it; and like another Regulus, he reſolved to ſacrifice his life to his honour. His friends at Rochelle would have impriſoned him, as a means of eluding the performance of his promiſe; but ſuch ſubtilties, and artful evaſions were repugnant to his nature, and he made his eſcape from them, ſtealing privately out of the town, and repaired to Brouage, where he ſaw the veſſel waiting for him. St. Luc received him with tears. But his fidelity to his word was greatly rewarded; his regiment took priſoner that ſame night monſieur de Guiteaux, the king's lieutenant-general of the iſles; and before D'Aubigné went on board the ſhip which was to carry him to execution, they ſent word to St. Luc, that they would regulate their treatment of their priſoner, on that which D'Aubigné ſhould receive. St. Luc rejoiced at this event; made it a plea for not obeying the king's orders; diſmiſſed the ſhips, and retained his priſoner; whom he in a ſhort time after exchanged for Guiteaux *.

And releaſed.

But the iſle of Oleron was firſt ſold to the catholics.

Though D'Aubigné ſo ſoon regained his liberty, and during his captivity enjoyed the friendſhip of St. Luc, yet his capture proved very unfortunate to him; for the king of Navarre, being in extreme want of money, had ſold the iſle of Oleron to the catholics; a ſevere mortification to the man who had gained the poſſeſſion of it at the great hazard of his life, and kept it by a long courſe of fatigue and danger. The ſeaſon of the year not admitting of any military undertaking,

* Ibid. p. 22.

D'Au-

D'Aubigné retired to his own houſe, filled with vexation and reſentment; which had ſo much power over him, that it is probable he might have done the ſame, had the time of the year been favourable for the field. Though the ill treatment he frequently received from the king of Navarre excited his reſentment, yet his anger always bore greater reſemblance to a lover's pique, than to that generally conceived by an injured man. There was ſomething ſo amiable in Henry's manners, that D'Aubigné, even in deſpight of himſelf, loved him in the midſt of his anger; and while he fancied himſelf actuated by indignation, his real motive was a deſire of gaining his maſter's eſteem, and rendering himſelf regretted, by ſhewing that he better deſerved his favour than many who enjoyed it. In this ſituation was his mind at the time of which I am ſpeaking; and ſo ſtrongly did this lover-like pique prevail with him, that notwithſtanding the natural love of life, and his tender attachment to his wife and family, he formed a deſign of taking a final adieu of his maſter; and then, after rendering him ſome great and ſignal ſervice, ſeek for an honourable death; forcing him to love the memory of the man, whom living he frequently appeared to hate. But this intention was combated by his attachment to his religion; for reflexion ſhewed him that its intereſts were blended with thoſe of the king of Navarre. This difficulty was not eaſy to overcome; he could not bring himſelf to a reſolution to quit the defence of the religion he profeſſed; his only reſource therefore was to profeſs it no longer; but in one ſo ſincere in his faith, this could not be the work of pique and vexation; they might induce him to wiſh himſelf

D'Aubigné quits the ſervice.

ſelf a catholic, but could not prevent his being a zealous huguenot: the wiſh however made him think it poſſible that the prejudices of education might have influenced him too much; and induced him to examine the point carefully, and try whether he could find ſufficient grounds to hope for his ſalvation in the Romiſh church. Having dropped ſome intimation of his deſign to ſtudy the controverſial writers of the popiſh perſuaſion, Monſieur de St. Luc, and ſeveral other catholic gentlemen of rank, who ſincerely wiſhed his converſion, ſent him all the moſt eſteemed books on that ſubject, to the peruſal of which he applied very ſeriouſly; always preparing himſelf by an addreſs to the fountain of truth, for light to diſcover on which ſide it lay; and endeavouring as much as poſſible to diveſt himſelf of all prejudices that might influence him. We may even ſuppoſe that he was not a very partial reader; for if the force of education gave weight on one ſide, anger, and the conſequent deſire of being converted, might nearly preponderate. The firſt he read was a work of Francis Panigarole biſhop of Aſt; but the ſtupidity of the performance ſoon diſguſted him. He next peruſed a book of father Campian's, (the man who was executed in England for conſpiring againſt the life of queen Elizabeth) entitled Decem rationes; and admired the eloquence of the writer: but as ſound reaſoning, not elegant language, was the object of his ſearch, it did not anſwer his purpoſe; and all the notice he took of it was his changing the title to Decem declamationes. Bellarmin was his next author, and gave him great pleaſure; he was charmed with the force and method he found in his writings; and more eſpecially the ſeeming candour with which he

he inserted the arguments used by the reformed pleased him; and he believed he had found the conviction he sought: but on a close examination, the speciousness which had at first startled him, only served to confirm him more strongly in his religion; and his faith was perfectly established by perusing the refutations of Bellarmine by Whiteacre and Lubert. Being asked by the gentlemen who lent him the books in defence of the Romish doctrine, what fruits he had reaped from them, he replied, that "serious application and close attention to the arguments "they contained, had dispelled the effects of "those false lights they held out, which at first "dazzled and confounded him *."

During the time D'Aubigné was thus employed, the affairs of the reformed were at a low ebb, and the king of France under great perplexity. Though he had entered into the strongest engagements with the league, yet he could not bring himself to unite sincerely with a set of people, who he knew were not less implacable enemies to him than to the king of Navarre: he was sensible that his interests and Henry's coincided: but as a bigoted catholic he hated the huguenots; and was rendered still more averse to an union with them, by a consciousness that he should thereby incurr the imputation of a favourer of heretics; and lose the reputation of piety and orthodoxy, which he had long been endeavouring to establish by all the puerile ceremonials and fopperies of religion his superstitious mind could invent. There were, no doubt, weighty objections against either

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 87.

ſide of the alternative before him, but the worſt part he could act was to determine on neither, and to that his natural diſpoſition inclined him. Irreſolution was his great characteriſtic; always wavering between oppoſite opinions, he never came to any determination; he complied with the league juſt ſo far as to ſtrengthen their hands, and increaſe their power to oppreſs him; while by doing no more he gave them cauſe to add contempt to hatred; and he damped the inclination of his friends to ſerve him, by frequent proofs of his want of either ſpirit or firmneſs to ſupport them. The party of catholic malecontents, at the head of whom was the marſhal Montmorenci, were attached to him more by hatred to the Guiſes, than affection for his perſon; but theſe he had not courage to avow; and they united their arms with thoſe of the king of Navarre; with whom the marſhal had made his peace, renewing an alliance which he wiſhed he had never broken. The king had committed the command of an army to the duke d'Epernon, one of his favourites, called in the language of the times his minions, to whom he gave orders to make war, but weakly, on the huguenots, avoiding as much as poſſible to add ſtrength to the leaguers; a plan of conduct which diſgraced the duke, rendered the king's inſincerity evident, put the kingdom to a vain expence, and harraſſed and conſumed the ſoldiery *.

This wretched prince, ſeldom oppoſed his enemies with any other weapon than his pen, ever publiſhing juſtifications of himſelf againſt

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 150.

the

the invectives and abuſes circulated through the kingdom by the leaguers; or commencing negotiations which he never brought to a concluſion: meaſures equally unavailing. The people were too ſtrongly prejudiced againſt him to liſten to the moſt ſpecious arguments he could urge in defence of his conduct; and the arts of negotiating, ſo long practiſed by the queen mother, who guided his proceedings on theſe occaſions, were too well known to deceive any longer.—On this hackneyed plan ſhe propoſed a conference to the king of Navarre, which he accepted; and part of the winter paſſed in this employment.

Conference between Henry and the queen mother.

THE queen brought with her her uſual auxiliaries, the handſomeſt women in her court; but did not find them of ſo much ſervice as they had proved at other times. One day, vexed that the king of Navarre refuſed the terms ſhe offered from the king her ſon, ſhe cried out, "But what would you have?" Henry, looking at the ladies who accompanied her, replied, "Nothing that I ſee here †." She preſſed him ſtrongly to a change of religion, urging that his ſucceſſion to the throne depended upon it; and that it was the only means of reſtoring peace to the kingdom, by taking away the very foundation of the league; but, as uſual, Henry referred that affair to a general and free council. She then endeavoured to make him diſtruſt his adherents, inſinuating every kind of ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of their attachment; and repreſented the deſperate ſtate of his affairs; upon which the duke de Nevers

† L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. ii. liv. 5. p. 279.

told

told him it would better become him to make his court to the king, than to the mayor of Rochelle, where in his greatest necessities he could not impose the smallest tax to supply them. Henry replied, "You are mistaken, sir, I can "do every thing I chuse at Rochelle; because "I chuse to do only what I ought †." A prince who can say the same with equal sincerity, may indeed boast of uncontrouled authority in his kingdom.

This conference produced no change in the measures of either of the kings; and Catherine returned to her son, to pass the remainder of the winter in feasts and balls; which were also the employment of the king of Navarre's court at that season; Henry endeavouring to conceal his distressed situation, under the mask of mirth and gayety: and so habitual was become the spirit of amusement and dissipation, that the melancholy condition of the kingdom could not suppress it; even some of the huguenot gen-
A.D. 1589. tlemen caught the contagion, though in general their conduct was more grave and regular. But the pleasures of the court engaged Henry no longer than the season of the year obliged him to a state of inaction, nor did they prevent his calling to mind the long and faithful services of D'Aubigné, with some compunction. His six months absence had given time for the little animosities between him and the king to subside; and that prince, to bring him again to his court, offered to commit to his care a child his mistress had just then borne him; but D'Aubigné

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 23. L'Esprit de Henri IV. p. 14.

returned

returned thanks for the intended honour, without accepting it. He soon after received a proof of the king's regard more agreeable to his disposition *.

D'Aubigné returns to the king.

THE citizens of Rochelle were ever averse to engage in any enterprize beyond the circuit of their own walls; but the garrison in Talmont annoying them, and the king of Navarre being destitute of sufficient force to take the place without their assistance, they agreed to furnish him with artillery (the situation affording them convenient means of transporting it by water) if D'Aubigné, and Monf. de Fouquerolles, on reconnoitring the place, judged it practicable. Henry invited D'Aubigné to share this enterprize; he repaired to him directly, and after having viewed the place, he and his companion declared it might be taken in four days. As Henry made no secret of his intention to besiege it, the garrison was well prepared to receive him, but were reduced to capitulate the third day. He then took Chizé, the castle of Sasai, St. Maixant, Fontenai-le-comte, Maillezais, and Mauleon †.

Is at the taking of Talmont, &c.

THE duchess de Loudunois, to whom belonged the towns of Ganache and Beauvois, endeavoured by preserving an exact neutrality between both parties, to keep possession of what she was too weak to defend by force; but the prince of Genevois, her son, seized on Ganache, and made an attempt on Beauvois, which proved so unsuccessful, that he was taken prisoner; but by

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 88.
† De Thou, tom. vi. p. 4.

the

the king of Navarre's interceſſion, the ducheſs reſtored her ſon's liberty, and put the town under Henry's protection; the increaſed ſtrength of the huguenots in that province then giving her courage to eſpouſe that party, with whom ſhe agreed in the articles of religion †.

Falls ſick.

In the greateſt part of theſe expeditions D'Aubigné had no ſhare, having fallen ſick ſoon after the taking of Talmont, and continuing dangerouſly ill for near four months ‡.

While Henry was thus employed, the king of France had been exhauſting his treaſury in the moſt pompous and expenſive celebration of a marriage between the duke de Joyeuſe, one of his minions, and the princeſs de Vaudemont, ſiſter to the queen. Before the king of Navarre fled from the court of his brother in law, D'Aubigné had compoſed a maſk to which he gave the name of Circe; but the decorations it required were found ſo expenſive, that it was not repreſented; yet the plan having been much liked by the king and queen mother, they ſent to the author for the piece; and though the royal finances were never in a worſe condition, cauſed it to be performed on the duke de Joyeuſe's nuptials; expending above three hundred thouſand crowns on the muſic and decorations, neceſſary to the exhibition *.

Soon after this marriage was celebrated, the king levied as conſiderable a force as his exhauſted

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 40.
‡ Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 88.
* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 30. Journal du regne de Henry III. p. 47.

treaſury

treasury would permit, and gave the command to the duke de Joyeuſe, with orders to make head againſt the king of Navarre and prince of Condé, who were ſtill in Poictou. The duke's firſt action was the taking of La Motte St. Herai, the garriſon being too weak to preſerve it; but ſubſtituting exceſs of courage in the place of numbers, they made a longer defence than could have been expected; till reduced by famine, and encouraged by ſome ſpecious promiſes, they ſurrendered, and were almoſt all, to the number of above two hundred, ſlain in cold blood by the beſiegers: and ſo much can bigotry and flaming zeal deprave the mind, that cruelty was then the road to fame, and popular favor. Such was the duke de Joyeuſe's motive in this, and other actions too much reſembling it; as appears by his anſwer to D'Aubigné; who being employed to tranſact with him ſome affairs relative to the parties, aſked him his inducement for a proceeding ſo derogatory to the honour of humanity? The duke replied, "the aim of all "of us who wiſh for ſome ſhare in the diviſion "of a ruined ſtate, is to be extolled in the "pulpits of Paris, and thoſe of other great "cities, from which the duke of Guiſe has "reaped ſo great advantage; now the actions "you condemn, and which I confeſs were very "painful to me, are much more applauded by our "preachers, than a battle won with the greateſt "danger, wherein mercy is ſhewn *."

The duke then reduced St. Maixant, Tonnai-Charante and Maillezais; but the prince of Condé recovered Tonnai-Charante at the head of

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 44.

the

the garrison which had surrendered it to the catholics, and at the quitting it had fixed on the spot where the walls might with greatest ease be scaled; an attempt so little expected by the new possessors, that they had left in it too few men for its defence; but the duke retook it in a very short time after. These small conquests had employed the duke between two and three months; but the heat of the season was more destructive to his army than he had proved to the enemy, causing such sickness among his men that every march he performed, might be traced by the dead bodies on the road *.

Recovers, and repairs to the king of Navarre.

DURING this time D'Aubigné being in good measure recovered from his long and severe illness, and hearing that the armies of the duke de Joyeuse, and king of Navarre were so near each other that a battle was soon expected, he determined to repair to his master; and gathering together twenty-three soldiers, with a considerable number of sutlers and camp footboys, of whom he composed a long file, he made them precede his small band, as a means of escaping any ambuscade that might be formed for him by the garrison of Saintes: an expedient which proved very useful to him, for three companies being laid in ambush in a thick wood, where the road was very narrow, the sight of this file of men tempted them from their concealment, and they surrounded them before D'Aubigné and his soldiers were come up; who being at liberty, charged the three companies, killed some, wounded many, and rescued the men to whom they thus owed their lives, with the loss of only one man.

* De Thou, tom. vii. p. 6.

Without

Without farther moleſtation he reached the king of Navarre's army, and reſumed the poſt of his equerry. Twenty Scottiſh gentlemen had come into France to gather laurels in the dangerous enterprizes ſo frequent at that time; and their captain being abſent when D'Aubigné arrived at the king of Navarre's camp, they applied to that prince to give them a commander. No one was better ſuited to this office than D'Aubigné, whom he therefore ſent to them; and under his conduct they performed many actions more hazardous than important, their number being too ſmall to effect any thing conſiderable; though ſufficient to raiſe their fame, and to give the public cauſe to ſay that the Albanois (the light horſe) durſt not have ventured to attempt the things they had performed. This exciting the jealouſy of Mercure, captain of the Albanois, he ſent them a challenge to fight an equal number of his men; which being accepted by them, and allowed by the chiefs on both ſides, the duke de Joyeuſe on that of the Albanois, and the king of Navarre on the ſide of the Scots, every thing was prepared, and the ceremonials, after much conteſt, adjuſted: when captain Mercure, finding his men unequal to the combat, privately obtained leave of the duke to prevent the engagement by abſenting himſelf. It was during this tranſaction that D'Aubigné held with the duke de Joyeuſe the converſation already mentioned, concerning the cruelty he had permitted at La Motte, and other places *.

By this intercourſe with the enemy, D'Aubigné learnt the true ſtate of the catholic army;

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 44.

he

he saw it much weakened by sickness; and learnt that the duke de Joyeuse, having received information that his absence had diminished the king's favour towards him, was determined to return to court to renew his interest with his master; intending to commit the care of his troops to monsieur de Laverdin. With this intelligence D'Aubigné hastened to the king of Navarre, who was not of a disposition to neglect the advantages it offered him. He formed a flying camp, and pursuing the catholic army in its retreat, as far as La Haye in Touraine, slew three companies of horse, and took a great number of prisoners. He besieged monsieur de Laverdin in La Haye; but having no cannon, was obliged to relinquish the enterprize; yet employed himself very advantageously in causing a fort to be raised at Monsoreau, and a bridge of boats to be constructed, in readiness to convey over the Loire the troops he expected from several provinces on the other side of that river. He waited only for those recruits, and the arrival of the count de Soissons, who at length, piqued at the superiority the Guises assumed over the princes of the blood, and allured by hopes given him of a marriage with Catherine, Henry's sister, had determined to join the king of Navarre, who was ready to begin his march towards the frontiers, in order to meet the German army which was coming to his aid, when he was prevented from executing his purpose, by the return of the duke de Joyeuse to his army †.

The duke finding that he did indeed decline in the king's favor, ardently sought to distinguish

† Ibid. p. 46. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 6.

himſelf in ſuch a manner, as might ſecure to him by fear an influence over his maſter, equal to that which affection had before given him; or enable him to rival the Guiſes in the favor of the clergy and the people: he therefore, by the moſt importunate ſolicitations, obtained the king's permiſſion to offer the king of Navarre battle, boaſting that he would ſoon preſent his majeſty with the heads of Henry of Navarre and the prince of Condé †.

On the 18th of October the two armies met near the village of Coutras in Perigort. The huguenots had been frequently ſcandalized at Henry's flagrant incontinence; and were ſenſible that even their religion was diſgraced, by the ſhameful neglect of its precepts, ſo viſible in their chief; but none of his amours had given them greater offence than his ſeduction of the daughter to a gentleman of the long robe at Rochelle. They had in vain attempted to prevail on him to do public penance for the offence; a proceeding more agreeable to the ſeverity of the rigid Rocheleſe, than to the inclinations of a diſſolute prince; who was conſcious that were the like pennance to be required of him for every offence of the ſame nature, the garb of a penitent muſt become one of his common dreſſes. But though Henry might treat thoſe affairs lightly, the huguenots did not underſtand raillery on ſuch ſubjects; and when the vicinity of the two armies ſhewed that a battle between them muſt neceſſarily enſue, Du Pleſſis-Mornay repreſented ſo ſtrongly to the king of Navarre the duty of making ſome repa-

† Ibid. p. 9.

ration for the ſcandal he had brought on the reformed religion; and the remorſe he would feel if ſo many brave men as compoſed his army, ſhould periſh, as a judgement on the commander, for a ſin not duly repented of; that Henry, either influenced by ſome religious apprehenſions, or fearing that ſcruples in the conſciences of his ſoldiers might damp their ſpirits, conſented to make directly a public acknowledgment of his crime, in the church at Pons; and promiſed to perform the ſame at Rochelle the next time he went thither; an engagement he faithfully fulfilled. Some of his courtiers hinted to him, that the huguenot miniſters had treated him too hardly; but he replied, "A man cannot humble "himſelf too much before God, nor preſerve "too much dignity towards men *."

Henry does pennance.

The minds of the huguenots being thus made eaſy, every one prepared with alacrity for the approaching engagement. The king of Navarre took D'Aubigné with him to reconnoitre the adjacent parts, and to fix on the field of battle, which they choſe near Coutras, having firſt ſecured that village, and lodged their baggage therein †.

The duke de Joyeuſe, prompted by his natural vanity, and encouraged by his ſuperiority in numbers, was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he cauſed it to be reſolved in council, that no quarter ſhould be given to any of the adverſe army, not even to the king of Navarre and prince of Condé; and that whoever ſhould

* Vie de Pleſſis Mornay, p. 108.
† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 83.

attempt

attempt to save the life of one of the enemy, should suffer death *.

The next morning the two armies were drawn up in order of battle; but before they engaged, the reformed ministers read prayers to their army; which being observed by the enemy, many of them cried out, "The cowards tremble! "they are at confession." But monsieur de Vaux, lieutenant to marshal Bellegarde, who was better acquainted with the dispositions and manners of the reformed, by having more frequently engaged them, told the duke, that "when the huguenots prayed it was a sure proof "they were going to fight boldly †." Oct. 20. Battle of Coutras.

The king of Navarre dividing his cavalry into four companies, put himself at the head of one; gave another to the prince of Condé, who was to command the right wing; the third, which was to form the left, to the count de Soissons; and the fourth to the viscount de Turenne, for a corps de reserve. The battle commenced at eight o'clock in the morning by a discharge of the artillery. The attack was begun by Messrs. de Laverdin and de Montigni at the head of the light horse, who routed the light horse of the reformed; but less success attended the catholics through the rest of the engagement. The fight was extremely obstinate, and at one time victory seemed to incline on the side of the duke; but Henry by a short, but inspiriting harangue to his soldiers, accompanied by great intrepidity of conduct, gave a turn to the fortune of the day.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 48.
† Pere Dan. tom. vii. p. 177.

St. Luc unhorsed the prince of Condé; but perceiving that no hopes of conquest remained, he immediately presented the prince his gauntlet, surrendering himself prisoner. D'Aubigné was wounded in the face by monsieur de Vaux, the weakness still remaining from his long illness, rendering him unable to wear his helmet; but he in return killed de Vaux, by a blow which going through his right eye, pierced his head. Ten gentlemen of rank joined D'Aubigné, and desired to fight under his banner; he led them three leagues in pursuit of the enemy, whom they prevented from rallying *.

The duke de Joyeuse killed, and his army defeated.

No victory could be more compleat; the duke de Joyeuse was killed, not indeed in the battle, but as soon as he was taken prisoner, by an officer in the huguenot army, from mean revenge, or, to use his terms, as a punishment for the cruelties he had committed at La Motte. Above three thousand of the catholics were slain, among whom were many of the first distinction; and great numbers taken prisoners; while on the side of the victorious there fell not two hundred. All the standards, the cannon, and the baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of the conquerors †.

The king of Navarre's magnanimity shone still more conspicuously in the moderation and equanimity with which he bore this victory, than in the courage which had so much contributed to obtain it. Being asked what terms he would

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 89.

† Dav. lib. 8. p. 468. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 14. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 56. Cayet, tom. i. p. 38.

re-

require from the king of France after gaining ſuch a battle, "Juſt the ſame, ſaid he, that I "would aſk after loſing one; a confirmation of "the edict of Poictou." As ſome endeavoured to put a malicious conſtruction on his moderation, he added, that "he took arms only upon "the breach of that treaty, and therefore ſhould "bear them only till it was renewed *."

When the king of Navarre returned to his quarters to take ſome refreſhment, he found them filled with the wounded catholics who had been taken priſoners. He then repaired to Du Pleſſis Mornay's, and the firſt object he beheld was the body of the duke de Joyeuſe which was laid there; he appointed a guard to watch it, leſt the populace ſhould offer any indignity to the body of the man who had excited their hatred; and was reduced to order refreſhment to be brought him in a chamber above ſtairs; where his repaſt was continually interrupted by his officers and ſoldiers preſenting to him freſh priſoners, or enſigns they had taken †, which he received with courteſy, but without any tokens of exultation; and thereby gave occaſion to monſieur Chandieu (the miniſter who had received at Pons Henry's penitential acknowledgement of his criminal amour) to ſay in a whiſper to a gentleman who ſtood near him, "Happy and truly "favored of heaven is that prince, who can ſee "under his feet his enemies humbled by the hand "of God, his table ſurrounded by the priſoners "he has taken, his room hung with the enſigns "of thoſe he has vanquiſhed; and who free

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 57.
† Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay, p. 111. Perefixe, p. 92.

 "from

"from every emotion of insolence or vanity, "can maintain in the midst of successes so glo- "rious, the same firmness and moderation with "which he supports the most cruel and unex- "pected reverses of fortune *."

THE consequences of this victory were by no means such as might have been expected, for the huguenots reaped no other advantage from it than a present relief by the destruction of so formidable a body of the enemy; the increase of reputation; and the cure of a prejudice conceived against them as not being equal to a pitched battle, though successful in bold enterprizes, and sudden onsets †. But those writers who to Henry's quitting the army to visit the countess de Guiche in Bearn, have entirely attributed the little of moment that was performed after the battle, have done injustice to that prince, for he was rendered unequal to any very considerable undertaking by the desertion of the greatest part of his army; and though it cannot be denied but he might with a few men have reaped some benefit from a victory which had given him an increase of reputation, of itself more powerful than some regiments of horse, yet no very important acquisition could be expected from a prince abandoned by most of his men. Part of them had enlisted only for the term of three weeks; and though he had prevailed with them to stay two months, yet when the battle was over, the hope of which had detained them, they were determined to depart. Those under the command of the prince of Conde were bent

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* De Thou, tom. vii. p. 74.

† Oecon. Royales & Polit. de Sully, tom. i. p. 241.

on

on going to meet the Germans, then arrived in France to [illegible]stance, and escorte and guide them thro[illegible]vinces, with which the Germans being [illegible]quainted, they could not march without g[illegible]anger. The king of Navarre had with difficulty persuaded them to stay till the day of battle, after which it was impossible to detain them. The prospect of great conquests would, probably, have made prudence and ambition triumph over love; but a view of smaller advantages not having equal power, after obtaining a promise from such of his men as retired home to get in their harvest, to meet him again in the field on the twentieth of November, in order to join the German army, he left the rest of his troops under the command of monsieur de Turenne, and went into Bearn to lay his laurels at the feet of the countess de Guiche; who was then with the princess Catherine, his sister, at Pau *.

Henry goes into Bearn.

But the engagement he had required from his men proved unnecessary; for the German troops (who had been joined by the duke de Bouillon and the sieur de Chatillon) being commanded by a person in whom they had little confidence, and who had not sufficient authority over them, such dissentions arose, and such uncertainty in regard to the road they were to take, that confusion reigned among them. The fatigues of their long march; want of proper conveniencies for the men, and forage for their horses; the badness of the roads at that season of the year, which obliged them frequently to

* Ibid. p. 288. Vie de du Plessis Mornay, p. 111, Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 1. p. 58.

abandon their baggage; beside being continually harassed by flying squadrons catholic troops, had destroyed great p eir men; and rendered the remainder fo or service, that their allies had little hope ance from them; nor had they any confidence in themselves. In this melancholy condition they arrived on the 6th of November at Lancy in Mâconnois; the Switzers had already forsaken them, and made their peace with the king of France, who was at the head of an army at no great distance from them, and offered a safe conduct to the German troops if they would return home, engaging never to serve again in France without the king's permission. Their strength broken, and their spirits dejected, they considered these terms as eligible, nor could all the Sieur de Chatillon's endeavours deter them from entering into this agreement. They soon found that the arguments he had made use of were very just; the king had promised more than he had power to perform; the duke of Guise pursued them, and the greatest part of this ill-fated army perished *. De Chatillon, who throughout the march of the Germans had distinguished himself greatly to their advantage, and his own glory, finding them resolved to accept the king's offer, put himself at the head of such as were desirous to share his fate; and conducting his small corps through le Forez, fought his way over the neighbouring mountains, and notwithstanding the badness of the roads, and the frequent attacks of the enemy, led his men into the Vivarais with such conduct and courage, as rendered his retreat

* Davila, lib. 8. p. 473. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 46.

glorious,

glorious, worthy of himſelf, and the race from which he ſprang*.

The duke de Bouillon, who commanded the French troops that had joined the Germans, retired to Geneva, ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed with vexation; which ſoon after put a period to his life. He bequeathed his poſſeſſions to his ſiſter; appointing the ſieur de la Noue her guardian, and his executor †. So rich an inheritance was an irreſiſtible allurement to the duke of Lorraine, who ſought to marry the heireſs to his eldeſt ſon, and endeavoured by force of arms to get poſſeſſion of her domains; but the king of France, to prevent ſo great an increaſe of power in the family of his moſt implacable enemies, ſummoned La Noue to take upon him the delegated truſt. Of all men living La Noue the leaſt wanted to be reminded of his duty, but in this caſe the point was delicate. After a long impriſonment in the Low Countries, he had been ſet at liberty, on a promiſe of never bearing arms againſt the king of Spain, or his allies, while the intereſts of the king of France, and the loyalty he owed him as his ſubject, did not require it. The king's commands therefore were neceſſary to diſcharge him from his promiſe §. A. D. 1588. Death of the duke de Bouillon.

The prince of Condé did not long ſurvive the duke de Bouillon; and his death was a ſevere blow to the huguenot party, for he was a man of great probity; humane, generous, brave, and ſincerely attached to the reformed religion. A jealouſy of power had prevented any good agreement between And of the prince of Condé.

* Ibid. p. 48. Cayet, tom. i. p. 42.
† Vie de la Noue, p. 312. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 160.
§ Ibid. p. 169.

him

him and the king of Navarre; but Henry felt his loss, both as a kinsman whom he esteemed, and as a man who was of consequence to his party; and having great reason to believe he was poisoned, in which the princess his wife was suspected to be an accomplice, he carried on a prosecution with vigour; but in regard to the son, of which after her husband's decease she was delivered, the process against her was dropped *.

May 22. The barricades of Paris. The king flies to Chartres.

The king of France, in a short time after the departure of the German army, felt the fault he had committed in having joined forces with the leaguers against those troops which would readily have served him, and afforded him the only means of conquering enemies so dangerous. The Swiss, particularly, were invited into the kingdom by him and the king of Navarre jointly, at a time when a reconciliation was negotiating between those two princes. By taking the field against the Germans he hoped to recommend himself to the leaguers, and gain some degree of popularity in the kingdom; but the duke of Guise, who had raised his ambitious views to the throne, frustrated all his endeavours, and rendered him more than ever the object of his people's contempt and detestation. At length the sedition in Paris rose to so great a height, that the people by barricading the streets, nearly besieged the king in his palace; a circumstance so alarming to that pusillanimous prince, that he fled privately from the city with a few guards and attendants, and retired to Chartres, leaving

* Ibid. p. 179.

the duke of Guise absolute master of the capital *.

The only measure the king took to resist so dangerous an enemy, was publishing declarations, and relating the treatment he had received; but to so little effect, that after much negotiation he agreed to bury all that was passed in oblivion; he also consented to make the duke of Guise lieutenant general of the kingdom: bound himself by oath to prosecute the war with vigour, till the utter extirpation of heresy; desiring all his subjects to concur with him in an engagement, never to suffer any but a catholic prince to ascend the throne of France; with many other articles tending to the destruction of the huguenots †.

July 19. Unites with the leaguers,

The king of Navarre had not sufficient force to take the field after the destruction of the German army, but repaired to Rochelle. The first military action he engaged in was an attempt to succour the garrison in the isle of Marans, then besieged by monsieur de Laverdin. The vicinity of this island to Rochelle rendered it important to that city; but the assailants were so numerous that all defence was hopeless: yet Henry would not give up the attempt till he had himself reconnoitred the marshes on one side of the island; in doing which he walked up to the girdle in water, leaning on D'Aubigné and Fouquerolles, though the enemies battery played very briskly

* Dav. lib. 9. p. 502. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 195. Journal du regne de Henri III. p. 113. Cayet, tom. i. p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 237. Mem. d'Etat, par Villeroy, tom. i. p. 60. Esprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 83.

upon them; nor would he be prevailed upon to retire, though his two companions offered if he would return to his vessel to advance as close to the island as he pleased: but at length the fear of exposing them too needlessly to danger, determined him to give up all further examination *. The garrison, after holding out to the last extremity, surrendered on a very honourable capitulation. But in a short time after the king of Navarre retook the island †.

D'AUBIGNE' had in the year 1570 imagined a means for getting possession of the mouth of the Loire, and securing it by strengthening the small town of St. Lazare, whereby he would have opened to his party an easy entrance into Bretagne. This, by some connexions he had in the adjacent towns, he could without difficulty have effected, and had proposed it to the king of Navarre, desiring him to commit the execution of it to La Noue. The viscount de Turenne had afterwards solicited with the strongest importunity to be trusted with the conduct of the affair; but Henry refused to commit it to either of them; he did not chuse to increase the reputation of La Noue, nor the power of the viscount; and therefore nothing was done in it till the time we are now speaking of, when the king took a resolution of putting it into execution, and of trusting the conduct of it to du Plessis Mornay; whose particular excellence lying in negotiation, and controversial writings, he gave Henry no umbrage by a rivalry in military fame. The preparations were carried on secretly at Rochelle; the

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 110.
† Ibid. p. 15. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 245.

king determined to lead the land forces, while du Plessis conducted the little fleet destined to this expedition; and Beauvois-sur-Mer was appointed for the place of rendezvous.

D'Aubigné accompanies Henry in an enterprize on Beauvois.

As the king was on his march towards Nyort, he met D'Aubigné, who though his attachment to the cause, and his natural inclination to a military life had brought him out of that retirement into which resentment had for a time thrown him, yet was still much out of humour that the isle of Oleron, which he had conquered with so much toil and danger, should during his imprisonment have been sold to St. Luc: nor had any endeavours been used to soften his discontent, by making him a compensation for the loss. As soon as the king saw him he said to him, "You formerly importuned me to carry your great design into effect; and wanted me to commit the execution of it to men, who attributing their success to their own abilities, would have assumed the honour, nor would one of the two have scrupled to appropriate to himself the advantage accruing from it. I have delayed it beyond the time you chose; and have trusted it to a person entirely devoted to me; who will give proof to the world that I can convert a man of letters into an able captain. I am much pleased with my choice, as he has facilitated the execution of your project by the invention of a very ingenious machine. I am now on my march to take my share in the enterprize; if you can prevail with yourself to sacrifice your resentment (though I confess in part just enough) to the necessities of your master, and to the cause to which you are so much attached,

"come

"come with us. I know that being so lately "returned from captivity you have no field "equipage; take what you chuse from my "stables, and for other things use the best "means you can."

"SIRE," answered D'Aubi[illegible] "I have "nothing to say in regard to your choice of "the person to whom you have committed this "business, except, that this man of letters is "also a brave soldier, and I have seen him "acquit himself with honour in the military "character. I am obliged to your majesty for "the offer of mounting me; without which I was "going to follow you on foot with my musket "on my shoulder." The king then gave him a circumstantial account of the plan on which they were to act; of his intention to take Clisson with his land forces, as it lay in his road; and the orders given to his fleet to wait for him near the island of Noirmoutier, with directions to be regulated by his motions. D'Aubigné expressed some apprehensions lest inconveniencies might arise from the fleet's being subjected to the motions of the land forces; and with reason, since even a short delay might occasion a long obstruction to the progress of those who were dependant on the winds; but this suggestion was imputed to envy, and consequently disregarded. The king finding Clisson too well manned and fortified, was obliged to raise the siege; and during the time lost in that attempt, the winds were become so contrary, that when he arrived at Beauvois, the fleet on which he was there to embark could not proceed. To compensate in some degree for this disappointment,

ment, he laid siege to Beauvois, a strong and well garrisoned castle.

The second day of the siege the king of Navarre, who made it his custom to be in every place, and as much as possible transacted every thing himself, walked out with thirty of his officers, followed by about a dozen of his guards, to reconnoitre the country as far as the port of Bouin. Villeserin, the commander of the garrison of Beauvois, observing them, and soon perceiving that the king made one of this small troop, took forty-five of his best men and concealed them in a small ditch, near which he knew the huguenots must pass. When they came within thirty paces, the king of Navarre, walking carelessly foremost, with his hands behind him, talking with D'Aubigné, saw all these men rise at once, and level their pieces at him. D'Aubigné immediately threw himself between them and the king; who refusing to retire, his attendants seized him, and forcibly pushing him from one to the other, were half of them before him when the fire began; but the assailants were so hurried by their eager desire to destroy at once, the chief hope and resource of the huguenot party, that they took no aim, and their shot flying at random, only one gentleman was killed, and two wounded. The rest, as soon as their care for the king, who was the most interesting object of their thoughts, would permit, drew their swords, and rushing toward the enemy, obliged them to attend more to their own defence than to annoying of others; and seeing the king's guards advancing to sustain their opponents, they judged it adviseable to make good their retreat.

THE

The castle of Beauvois, though no considerable place, obliged the besiegers to exert all their art and diligence; to every regiment was assigned it's peculiar post in the works necessary to be carried on in the circumvallation. The king of Navarre took to himself that which was most dangerous, and most difficult; and committed the execution to D'Aubigné, who was still his equerry. When Villeserin found himself too closely besieged to hope for succour, he offered to capitulate, afraid of standing a general assault; lest should the castle be taken by storm, he might suffer for the evil design he had so evidently shewn against the king of Navarre's life; but Henry was of no revengeful disposition, and granted him a very honourable capitulation. He put a garrison into the place; and strengthened those of Montague, Ganache, Talmont, and Fontenai. The approach of the Duke de Nevers' army rendering the execution of the design on which he had set out impossible, he gave up the attempt, and returned to Rochelle *.

Henry asks his advice on his intended marriage with madem. de Guiche.

A short time after the king's return from this expedition, as he was walking with the viscount de Turenne and D'Aubigné, he communicated to them the great perplexity and uneasiness of mind he was under, how best to effect a resolution he had formed of espousing the countess de Guiche, to whom he had given a formal promise of marriage. He ordered them to consider well what he had said, and to prepare themselves to deliver him their opinions upon it the next day. The viscount felt so

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 152. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, p. 119. Cayet, tom. i. p. 87.

strongly

ſtrongly the difficulty of acting in this delicate affair, in ſuch a manner as ſhould not either hurt his honour, or offend the king, that after having ſpent the night in a diſcuſſion very diſagreeable to himſelf, he determined to elude the conference, by pretending an abſolute neceſſity of going that day to Marans.

The poſt D'Aubigné held about the king would not have allowed him to take the ſame liberty; nor was he ever led by that timid caution which actuates the ſelf-intereſted courtier, to neglect an opportunity of ſpeaking uſeful truths. He too had paſſed the night in reflections on ſo critical a buſineſs, and the reſult was a determination to perform the duty of a faithful ſervant. At the time appointed, the king going out of the town, ordered the reſt of his attendants to retire to a proper diſtance, and riding forward with D'Aubigné, made him a laboured harangue which laſted above two hours; alleging as examples more than thirty princes, who had found advantage from indulging their inclinations, in marrying women of rank inferior to their own. He then brought many inſtances to prove that the purſuit of great alliances had frequently been as deſtructive to the ſtate, as to the happineſs of the monarch; and concluded by blaming the injuſtice of thoſe perſons, who being born without paſſions, would regulate the actions of a man in love by the frigid plan of their own conduct. "In fine," continued he, "I now deſire you "to tell me your ſentiments with your accuſ"tomed frankneſs and fidelity, and according "to the precepts of your ſevere morality."

D'Aubigne', who had very maturely conſidered the point in queſtion, being ordered by his maſter to ſpeak with ſincerity, began by blaming thoſe bad ſervants who had ſought out ſo many inſtances of unequal marriages; ſince they were inexcuſable for coolly employing themſelves in fomenting a blameable paſſion. His anſwer. "Such examples, Sire," ſaid he, "are no "doubt very excellent, but they are no models "for you: all the princes you have mentioned "enjoyed their dominions in peace: they were "not environed with enemies and dangers; nor "in any reſpect did their ſituation reſemble "yours. You preſerve your life, and ſuſtain "your fortune only by your intrinſic virtue, "and the eſteem of others. You ought, Sire, "to conſider yourſelf under the four different "characters, of Henry of Bourbon, king of Na-"varre, preſumptive heir to the crown of "France, and protector of the reformed churches. "In each of theſe characters you have a diſtinct "ſet of adherents; whom you muſt gratify in "the manner beſt ſuited to their views and "intentions. The ſafety of your perſon ſhould "be committed to thoſe who ſerve Henry of "Bourbon; the care of your houſehold to the "ſervants of the king of Navarre; poſts of "dignity ſhould be given the adherents to the "preſumptive heir of the crown of France, for "they muſt be gratified by rewards or fed with "flattering hopes, as ſelf-intereſt is the foun-"dation of their attachment to you; but thoſe "who ſerve you as protector of the churches, "require no other payment from you than "proofs of your zeal for the common cauſe, "integrity of life, virtuous actions, and a fair "example; for though in ſome reſpects you

"are

"are their superior, in others they are your "companions: on condition, however, that "they leave to you as small a part as possible of "the dangers of war, but yield to you the entire "disposal of the honours and advantages accru-"ing from it. I know too well your aversion "to reading to suspect that you have sought "out the precedents you have so circumstan-"tially cited; it would be unworthy of you; "and becomes only those mean and treacherous "counsellors, whose interested views dispose "them to flatter your passions. I have been "too susceptible of tender impressions to sup-"port any thing I can say by my own example. "You are now under the influence of excessive "love; this is no time to consider of the means "of eradicating the passion from your breast; "but it can never be unseasonable to represent, "that to secure the pleasures it offers, you must "render yourself worthy of your mistress.— "Your passion should excite you to apply your-"self seriously to the care of your affairs; this "ought to be your principal aim, for upon it "your whole success depends; to you it may "truly be said, Aut Cæsar aut Nihil. Conquer "your reluctance, your detestation, and become "assiduous in council; employ more hours "each day in your necessary affairs; give on "all occasions the preference to actions of im-"portance; endeavour to conquer those do-"mestic weaknesses, those private partialities, "which do not redound to your honour: and "when you have captivated the heart of every "true Frenchman, when you have dispelled all "those dangers that now threaten your life, "and have established your fortune, you may, "if you continue to desire it, do, what those

"have done, whose examples you allege.—
"The death of the duke of Anjou has brought
"you within one step of the throne; if you are
"not in a situation that will enable you to
"ascend it, notwithstanding all opposition, the
"instant it is vacant, you may be excluded from
"it for ever. Pursue your grand point there-
"fore with vigor; let no private respects, nor
"the fears of exciting the envy or jealousy of
"any one, retard your progress, or damp your
"ardor; success will render the completion of
"all your wishes safe and easy; but if in the
"present unfavourable conjuncture you marry
"your mistress, you will excite a general dis-
"gust, which will for ever deprive you of the
"crown of France."

With this prophetic menace D'Aubigné ceased speaking; and the king was so little offended with his frankness, that he thanked him very affectionately for the honest advice he had given him; and promised him on oath that he would not marry the countess de Guiche before the expiration of the two ensuing years. A delay which rendered vain all her ambitious hopes, and gave the king reason to reflect with joy and gratitude on the faithful counsel of his honest servant; for before those two years were expired, the countess de Guiche had given place in Henry's affections to the countess de Guiercheville *.

Some time after this conversation, the king had a stronger instance of D'Aubigné's freedom of speech, contrary to the design of the

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 94. Hist. des amours du Grand Alcandre, p. 224.

speaker,

ſpeaker, who lying with the Sieur de la Force in the king's garde robe, whiſpered in his companion's ear, "Certainly our maſter is the moſt "covetous, and moſt ungrateful mortal upon "earth." Receiving no anſwer, he repeated the accuſation; but La Force being ſcarcely awake, did not hear him diſtinctly, and aſked, "What do you ſay, D'Aubigné?" "Cannot "you hear him?" ſaid the king; "he tells you "I am the moſt covetous and moſt ungrateful "mortal on earth." D'Aubigné was ſomewhat confounded at being ſo unluckily overheard; however the king ſhewed not the leaſt ſymptom of diſpleaſure; nor did he endeavour to diſprove the accuſation by becoming more bountiful; poſſibly he thought, with ſome reaſon, that he gave a ſtrong proof of generoſity in not reſenting the ill timed liberty: and indeed his generoſity appeared leſs in giving than in forgiving; the branch of that virtue which may more properly be ranked under the denomination of bounty, made no part of his character *.

Henry had a very uncommon quickneſs of hearing, which was not thoroughly convenient to ſo incautious a man as D'Aubigné; who not taking ſufficient warning by the circumſtance juſt related, was a ſecond time guilty of a like imprudence. When Henry was flattering the count de Soiſſons, and many others, with the hopes of giving them his ſiſter Catherine in marriage, a hope with which he allured them into his ſervice, D'Aubigné being in bed with Frontenac whiſpered him, "How many brothers our "maſter makes out of one ſiſter!" As it was

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 95.

his fate to be heard only by the perſon he did not intend ſhould hear him, he ſpoke too low to be underſtood by Frontenac, who aſked him what he ſaid. Henry did not leave him time to anſwer, but called out, " Are you deaf, Frontenac? he " ſays I make many brothers out of one ſiſter." D'Aubigné, without being diſconcerted, replied, " Go to ſleep, Sire, we have a great deal more " to ſay *."

October. Eſtates aſſemble at Blois.

THE eſtates of the kingdom (the king of France having in his treaty with the leaguers conſented to aſſemble them) met together in October; where the king had the mortification of being obliged to ratify the treaty, and confirm the grants obtained from him by the duke of Guiſe, from which he hoped they would have relieved him †.

Nov. 12. Aſſembly of the churches.

THE king of Navarre had alſo called together an aſſembly of the huguenots; or as they at that time expreſſed it, of the churches; which met accordingly at Rochelle on the 12th day of November; nor did their deliberations fail of giving him ſome mortification. They reproached him with his liberality to his catholic dependants, while he ſuffered his ſervants of the reformed religion to be expoſed to the extremeſt indigence: that he was prodigal in his amours; but ſuffered ſeveral officers who had been wounded in fighting under him to die of want. They reproached him with the ſale of the iſle of Oleron to St. Luc, during the governor's captivity; together

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 285.
† Journal du Regne de Henry III. p. 116. Cayet, tom. i. p. 86.

with

with ſeveral other charges leſs juſt. He bore all their accuſations and complaints with great patience; and ſome of his ſervants, to diſprove the charge of prodigality in his amours, related the miſerable deaths of two of his miſtreſſes, and two of his natural children who periſhed for want *: a defence little to his honour; ſince however diſtreſſed his circumſtances, he yet had it in his power to beſtow the neceſſaries of life on thoſe whom he had deprived of all that can render exiſtence valuable: though he had expoſed them to infamy, he might have preſerved them from famine; but in all probability the allegation was little to the purpoſe, and we may believe that his ignorance of the facts, till too late to prevent the evil, made them as improperly the ſubjects of praiſe, as of cenſure. The truth is, his intrigues were ſo ſcandalouſly numerous, that to remember the names of all his tranſient miſtreſſes required a ſtrong memory, and it was ſcarcely poſſible he ſhould be acquainted with all the occaſional ſituations of each of them.

HENRY and the aſſembly were too neceſſary to each other, to remain long at variance; he gained over by careſſes thoſe who had ſhewn moſt enmity to him; and they parted in ſeeming good humour, after having ſent a deputation to the eſtates at Blois, requeſting them to aſſemble a general council †.

THE ſeaſon of the year did not put an end to hoſtilities. The duke de Nevers, after having taken Mauleon and Montagu, laid ſiege to la

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 133.
† Ibid. p. 134.

Ganache. The king of Navarre, in expectation of that event, had sent D'Aubigné to reconnoitre the place; who had reported that if the garrison was reinforced by a certain number of men, which he specified, it was capable of holding out long enough to ruin a good army. Henry sent D'Aubigné and the sieur de Robieres, at the head of two companies, with a supply of ammunition; but being driven by contrary winds to the island of Rhé, and exposed to much danger, several of their men deserted, and themselves did not arrive at la Ganache without great difficulty. In the division of the posts one of the bastions was committed to their care; and the place was in general so well defended, that the duke de Nevers could make but very small advances in his undertaking †.

D'Aubigné sent to succour Ganache.

As it was evident the siege would be drawn out to a considerable length, D'Aubigné left the sieur de Robieres to their joint command, in order to fulfil a promise made to his friend St. Gelais. The sieur de St. Gelais had made several enterprizes on the town of Nyort, and though they had proved unsuccessful, he was not discouraged, but determined on another attempt, still less promising than any of the rest; which was to scale a wall forty feet high; and in a part of it within eight paces of the post of a centinel. As he was much out of the king of Navarre's favor, it was with great difficulty that he obtained from him three hundred men; he was besides joined by about an hundred of his friends, of whom D'Aubigné was one. As D'Aubigné was setting out at the head of some gentlemen who had put

Engages in an enterprize on Nyort.

† De Thou, tom. vii. p. 315.

them-

themselves under his conduct, he received news that the king of France had caused the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine his brother to be assassinated at Blois†. He immediately sent to the king of Navarre, in whose measures it was possible such an event might make some alteration, to inquire if his majesty had any particular commands for him; but the king returned for answer, they might prosecute their design on Nyort; of which however he expected no good issue. D'Aubigné accordingly led his friends to the place of rendezvous; and the whole corps approached the town in the middle of the night; but the moon shining too bright for the business they were upon, they were obliged to lie down in some stone quarries, as the best means of being concealed till the moon was down. The extreme coldness of the weather rendered this inaction a very suffering part of the enterprize. They had brought with them two petards and two ladders, each of which was composed of six pieces of seven feet long, made to fit into each other with joints. When the moon had entirely withdrawn her light, the enterprizers began their operations, and planted their ladders at six paces from each other, and within eight of the centinel; but he, not having been able to endure the bleak wind which blew full into the bastion, had placed himself close to the wall, leaning his head against it; and had not heard the carriages on which the petards and ladders had been brought; their wheels having been bound round with felts, to prevent their making any noise. The sieur D'Arambure, and seventeen more, had mounted

Dec. 24. The duke of Guise assassinated.

† Dav. lib. 9. p. 535. Journal du Regne, &c. p. 116. Cayet, tom. ii. p. 106.

by

by one of the ladders, unperceived by the centinel, who firſt learnt their approach by being run through the body. But the alarm was ſoon taken in the town; lights were placed in every window; and four hundred men oppoſed the eighteen who had ſcaled the walls; but the petards being played off, and making ſufficient breaches to admit the reſt, D'Aubigné firſt entered, and arrived with his company, where the ſieur D'Arambure had juſt driven ſome of the garriſon from behind a barricade of trunks and boxes, which they had made at the end of one of the ſtreets; and miſtaking D'Aubigné for another party of the enemy, he took his ſtand behind the barricade of trunks, where D'Aubigné, under the like error, attacked him, and met with ſo warm a reception, that before the miſtake was diſcovered, two gentlemen on D'Aubigné's ſide were killed, one on D'Arambure's, and five wounded, beſide himſelf, who was hurt in ſuch a manner that it deprived him of one of his eyes. As many of the garriſon as could effect it retired into the citadel; where the ſieur de Malicorne, the governor of the province, commanded; and no farther reſiſtance being made in the town, St. Gelais placed guards to prevent its being pillaged for three hours, during which time the inhabitants had leiſure to carry off their moſt valuable effects. He then ſummoned the citadel to ſurrender, but Malicorne refuſed to treat with St. Gelais on account of ſome enmity which ſubſiſted between them; and with monſieur de Parambere, becauſe he was a ſtranger to him; but deſired to confer with D'Aubigné, to whom he had done ſome civilities during his impriſonment. As ſoon as they met, Malicorne told D'Aubigné he ſurrendered to him at diſcretion.

D'Au-

D'Aubigné would not take advantage of the consternation this old and brave officer was in; but made ſuch a capitulation for him as he durſt not require; and taking four gentlemen as hoſtages for the ſurrender, agreed that the place ſhould be delivered only to the king of Navarre; ſaying that "the governor of a province was a "priſoner worthy of a king;" and by this means he ſecured the garriſon from the inſolence of the ſoldiers, to which they would have been expoſed had they marched out directly, and gave his maſter the honour of the enterprize. In the taking of this town fourteen of the inhabitants only were killed, and but one of the aſſailants, and two more wounded, except thoſe who ſuffered by the miſtake between D'Arambure and D'Aubigné. The ſoldiers were permitted to take ſome plunder, but with great moderation, and no violence was done to the perſons of any of the vanquiſhed *. Nyort taken.

From Nyort the huguenot troops marched to Maillezais, to which they laid ſiege; and the ſieur de Pompoint, the commander, being ſummoned by D'Aubigné to ſurrender, he came to treat with him on his word given, without requiring any other ſecurity; and being his relation, choſe to deliver up the place into D'Aubigné's hands (he being inveſted with full powers) rather than wait for the approach of the king of Navarre; who was accompanied by the ſieur de Bouillaie, whom Pompoint was conſcious he had offended on another occaſion †. D'Aubigné And Maillezais.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 157. Cayet, tom. i. p. 116.

† Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. p. 158.

D'Aubigné made governor of it.

wished to be governor of Maillezais; and as he had taken it, the king could not well refuse it him; but endeavoured to persuade him to desist from his application; a vain endeavour; for D'Aubigné was desirous of some establishment, where he might rest a little from his labours, and enjoy the society of a beloved wife and family; being then thirty-seven years of age, and never having from his seventeenth year, passed four days successively, without being engaged in some military expedition, except when he was disabled from going abroad by wounds, or sickness *. This new employment prevented his returning to the siege of Ganache, which surrendered on honourable terms the 15th day of the following January; the king of Navarre's intentions of succouring it having been frustrated by a violent pleuritic fever, which seized him as he was on his march thither †. The duke de Nevers was glad to be master of the town on any conditions, the king of France's service requiring him for more important purposes. That prince seemed to imagine all his dangers and difficulties ended with the duke of Guise's death. His indolence, which had been suspended long enough to enable him to do one act of violence, returned with increased power, as if his vigor was all spent by that sudden exertion. The duke had been the object of his fear; and having effectually removed him and the cardinal of Lorrain, and put under safe custody the old cardinal de Bourbon, the prince de Joinville, and the duke D'Elbeuf, he flattered himself that the party was entirely broken. To

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 95.

† Vie de du Plessis Mornay, p. 126. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 365.

pacify

pacify the ſtates he publiſhed a declaration, ſignifying his fixed purpoſe of adhering firmly to the holy league, in ſtronger terms than ever; and juſtifying the murder of the duke and cardinal by the criminal deſigns they had formed againſt him †.

But ſuch meaſures were unavailing. The hatred of the leaguers was, if poſſible, increaſed; and though he had deprived them of their favourite chief, they had ſtill an able commander left in the duke de Mayenne. The conſternation into which the party was at firſt thrown, ſoon wore off, and the king found their ſtrength was undiminiſhed, and their inveterate abhorrence to him more openly declared. Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, was in a very bad ſtate of health at the time the duke of Guiſe was aſſaſſinated; a cataſtrophe which ſeemed to forebode the deſtruction of a family to which ſhe had always been much attached by her alliance with them; and the reproaches of the cardinal de Bourbon, who accuſed her of having drawn them into the ſnare by her deceitful careſſes, overcame the little portion of ſtrength which ſickneſs had left her, and on the 5th of January ſhe departed a world which ſhe ſeemed born to trouble ‡; unregretted by a people whom ſhe had involved in all the cruelleſt diſtreſſes of a civil war. Her reſtleſs ambition would not ſuffer her to be contented with that ſhare of power, which ſhe had obtained by corrupting the minds and morals of her ſons, and

A. D. 1589. January 5. Death of the queen mother.

† Davila, lib. 9. p. 537. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 354. Oeconomies royales, &c. de Sully, tom. i. p. 297.

‡ Ibid. p. 366. Dav. lib. 9. p. 541. Journal du regne, &c. p. 118.

of

of her subjects; leading them into the most destructive vices by every art and blandishment: but finding those vile methods insufficient to secure to her the sole government of the kingdom, she fomented that discord which ended in the ruin of her family. The duplicity of her conduct prevented her from gaining a friend; and her cruelty rendered every good man her enemy. Daring and presumptuous while unopposed, timorous and confounded when danger approached, her life was a series of alternate desperate undertakings, and mean and treacherous concessions: uniform in the malevolence of her designs, but inconsistent in her actions; steady in her aim, but variable in the means she used to attain it; by artifice and subterfuge she sought to ward off for the present hour, the dangers she had incurred by her rashness, without attending to the new distresses wherein the obliquity of her procedure must involve her. By nature she was endowed with some superiority of talents, which enabled her to become eminently wicked; and the massacre of St. Bartholomew will ever fix an indelible stain on the French nation, and render her memory detestable to all posterity.

Happy had it been for the king her son if the evils she caused had perished with her, but the consequences of her boundless ambition and false policy survived, and grew daily more alarming. The king saw the greatest part of the kingdom in arms against him, while the number of his adherents decreased, and those who remained were cold and spiritless. He had not concerted measures for taking immediate advantage of the sudden consternation into which the

the death of the duke of Guife had thrown the leaguers; who found fufficient leifure to recover from it while he was publifhing proclamations; and employing his pen, when the fword was the only weapon that could have been of ufe to him. The defection became foon fo general, that Saumur, Beaugency, Tours, and Amboife, were the only towns that acknowledged his authority. Seeing no longer a poffibility of defending himfelf againft his enemies, he grew at laft fenfible that his only refource was a ftrict union with the king of Navarre, from whom he had received frequent offers of fervice and affiftance. Madame d'Angoulême, widow of marfhal Francis de Montmorenci, began the negotiation between the two kings; and Henry fent Du Pleffis Mornay to the king of France to fettle the articles; which being adjufted, under the form of a truce between them for a year, Henry ventured to Tours to complete the reconciliation; though by that action he put himfelf in the power of a prince, who had given frequent proofs of the little confidence that could juftly be placed in his honour or probity. But the king's defperate fituation proved Henry's beft fecurity; for his alliance promifed greater advantages than treachery could yield; and after having fettled meafures for their future conduct, they parted with great fhew of affection; and Henry returned to his quarters at Maillé *. As the king could not eafily reconcile himfelf to the imputation of favouring hereticks, after having fo long endeavoured to eftablifh the reputation of his piety and orthodoxy, he re-

April. Union of the king of France with the king of Navarre.

* Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay, p. 134. Dav. lib. 10. p. 565. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 430. Cayet, tom. i. p. 187.

quired

quired that their union ſhould be kept ſecret as long as poſſible; but the duke de Mayenne abridged the agreed term of concealment, by attacking the town of Tours; which the king not having ſufficient force to defend, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of applying to Henry, who ſuccoured him ſo effectually, that the duke de Mayenne quitted the enterprize.

The duke had at his firſt attack taken the ſuburbs; in pillaging of which his ſoldiers committed the moſt cruel, and moſt infamous exceſſes: and marching from thence into the province of Maine, they continued the ſame conduct, exciting horror in every breaſt that retained any ſentiments of humanity *. Thoſe who uſed the zealous profeſſion of the catholic faith as a cloak to their ambition, were as much offended as the really pious, by their plundering a very rich church at Arquenai, which even the huguenots had ſpared; treating with the moſt infamous brutality the women who had fled thither for refuge; and afterwards diſtributing the conſecrated ornaments among the harlots in their camp †. The duke de Mayenne had not ſufficient authority to reſtrain them; and had the additional mortification of hearing that the king of Navarre's troops, under the command of the duke de Longueville, and the excellent La Noue, had defeated the duke d'Aumale's army near the town of Senlis, which he was beſieging; it having been ‡ a ſhort time before ſeized by the king's party; and that in the Chartrain the

Succeſs of the king of Navarre's troops.

* L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 74.
† De Thou, tom. vii. p. 468.
‡ Vie de la Noue, p. 345. Dav. lib. 3. p. 573.

troops

troops of the league had been equally unfortunate in an engagement with De Chatillon §.

These fucceffive events determined the king of France to unite his forces with thofe of the king of Navarre, who had not till then been able to prevail on him to leave Tours. They led their united troops againft Gergeau, which made no long refiftance; then took Etampes, (where D'Aubigné commanded the forlorn hope) Pontoife, and other fmall towns in the neighbourhood of *Paris*; with a view in thus environing it to reduce the city, by preventing the fupply of provifions neceffary for the fupport of fo great a number as it contained. Though none of thefe places were capable of making a very defperate refiftance, yet the king of Navarre was never expofed to greater danger than at Gergeau, and Pontoife. At the former, the duke d'Epernon meeting him as he was viewing the approaches to the town, conducted him through his quarter; and to fhew his own courage, led him on fo flowly, and fo openly, that the enemy fired very brifkly upon them, and killed four of their attendants, one of them a relation of the duke's, and his campmafter. As foon as they were got under cover, D'Aubigné and Frontenac, who had accompanied the king, defirous of retorting on the duke by a bravado, the danger to which he had expofed their mafter, invited him to return, and to walk there a little longer with them; with which he was going to comply, when the king

§ De Thou, tom. vii. p. 467. Hift. des derniers troubles de France, liv. 5. p. 4.

of

of Navarre prevented it, by holding him by the collar *.

At the ſiege of Pontoiſe the ſieur de Charbonnieres received a mortal wound, as the king of Navarre was leaning upon him, the cannon ball breaking both Charbonnieres' arms, of which he ſoon after died †.

From the diſtreſſed ſituation in which the king of France had ſo lately been, he now found himſelf in the moſt proſperous ſtate; from the time he joined the king of Navarre ſucceſs had attended every undertaking; and the two kings being at the head of thirty thouſand good and effective men, well armed, and animated with their good fortune, determined to lay ſiege to Paris; a meaſure which even in the attempt would give courage to their party, and if ſucceſsful would be a great ſtep to the reduction of the whole kingdom ‡.

The kings lay ſiege to Paris.

At this ſiege the king of Navarre having given leave to a few of his officers to advance beyond the entrenchments, to engage in ſingle combat with the enemy, or perform any thing of the like nature whereby they might gain intelligence, or make uſeful obſervations; D'Aubigné, being of the number, took advantage of the permiſſion, and advancing to the pres-aux-Clercs, called to an officer on guard to carry a challenge from him to monſieur de Sagonne, camp marſhal

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 177.
† Ibid. p. 180. Cayet, tom. i. p. 216. Oecon. roy. & pol. de Sully, tom. i. p. 312.
‡ Ibid. Hiſt. du duc de Bouill. liv. 3. p. 146.

to the catholic army in Paris; but he being absent, the officer to whom he applied, defied D'Aubigné in his own name, in the most insolent and abusive terms; believing that a wide and deep ditch which separated them, must render it impossible for D'Aubigné to get to him; but D'Aubigné provoked by insult, allured by the richness of the officer's arms, which were in good measure of silver, and knowing the excellence of the horse whereon he was mounted, leaped over the ditch. As soon as he reached the farther side of it, his enemy fired at him; but missing his aim, and perceiving that D'Aubigné was ready to return the fire, he begged his life, and surrendered himself; though ten gentlemen were advancing to his assistance. D'Aubigné carried off his prisoner to the prince of Conti's quarters; and this affair being much talked of in the camp, the king of France, who had that morning been mortally wounded, desired to see the prisoner; but D'Aubigné, though commanded by his master to comply with the king's desire, would not subject the officer to that mortification; finding, beside, in himself little inclination to gratify a prince, towards whom he felt a strong resentment on account of the share he had in the massacre of St. Bartholomew *.

THE king of France had fixed his tent at St. Cloud; and would have felt complete satisfaction at the promising aspect of his affairs, had he not been troubled with frequent notices of several persons who had determined to assassinate him: but these warnings were of no effect; for his strange, and foolish bigotry, secured access to

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 96.

any monk who wished to approach him; and Jacques Clement, a Jacobin monk, found no difficulty in gaining admission at an early hour in the morning; and stabbed the unsuspecting prince, whilst he was reading a letter he delivered to him *.

August 1.

The king of France assassinated.

The king himself drew the dagger from the wound, and struck the monk in the face with it; his attendants immediately fell on the assassin, and killed him. The wound was not at first thought dangerous, but towards night his pains became very violent, and his dissolution visibly approached. An express was sent to the king of Navarre (who, on his first visit, seeing the wounded king to appearance in no danger, had returned to his quarters at Meudon) informing him, that if he wished to see that prince alive, he must repair to him directly †.

Henry immediately called to him eight of the persons in whom he most confided, of whom D'Aubigné was one; and commanding them to put on armour under their clothes, he set out with them, and about twenty-five attendants, to the dying king; who expired as they arrived; having first declared the king of Navarre his heir and successor ‡.

His death.

No situation could be more critical than that of the king of Navarre. Fortune had but just begun to smile upon him, when he was by this fatal stroke involved in new difficulties. As he

* Journal du regne de Henri III. p. 134. Dav. lib. 10. p. 586. Cayet, p. 221.

† Oecon. roy. & pol. de Sully, tom. i. p. 314.

‡ De Thou, tom. vii. p. 291. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 2. p. 183. Cayet, tom. i. p. 223.

en-

entered the king's chamber, he heard amidst the general confusion, protestations from all parts never to acknowledge a huguenot for their king. Marshal Biron, alone, offered him his best services. Confounded and distressed, Henry retired into an adjacent chamber, taking La Force in one hand, and D'Aubigné in the other, and bade them give him their advice in that perplexing exigence. La Force excused himself from hazarding his opinion in so difficult a point; but D'Aubigné, whose presence of mind never forsook him, and whose zeal and sincerity were heightened, rather than depressed, by danger, obeyed to the following effect:

D'Aubigné's advice to Henry.

"Sire, You stand in greater want of advice "than consolation. The actions of the ensuing "hour must give the colour to the remainder "of your life, and make you either a king, or "nothing. You are surrounded by men who "tremble in the midst of their menaces; and "conceal their private fears under general pre-"tences. If you are influenced by the terrors "of some of your pusillanimous adherents, who "will fear *you?* Whom will not you *fear?* If "you think to conquer by submission, those "who from meanness are averse to you, who "will not tyrannize over you? I overheard "many who threatened, that if you did not "change your religion they would withdraw, "and make a separate party to revenge the "murder of their king: how will they dare to "attempt it without you, when they have not "courage to undertake it even with your "assistance? Beware of mistaking those slaves "to royalty for the bulwarks of the kingdom. "If your conscience does not dictate to you the

"answer you ought to make them, yet respect "the good opinion of those who have dedicated "their lives to the preservation of yours; and, "after God, rest your cause on their firm sup-"port, and not on those trembling reeds which "bend with every wind. Preserve your stedfast "friends; and do not regret the loss of men "you cannot keep without dishonouring your-"self; but draw from among them such as are "less attached to the Pope than to their king; "for the rest would be more hurtful to you near, "than at a distance. At this moment marshal "Biron and the commanders of your best troops "have no thoughts of leaving you; the share "they had in the murder of the Guises secures "them to you, by making you necessary to "them; they even rejoice in this opportunity "of obliging you; and of reaping the honour "of establishing you on the throne. Compose "your countenance; employ the understanding "and courage which God has given you: this "is an occasion worthy of your abilities; lose "no time; and while the malecontents and "their confessors are balancing the account be-"tween their hatred to your religion on one "side, and their fear of the leaguers on the "other, begin by marshal Biron; acquaint him "with the want you have of his assistance, in "as pressing terms as you can use without mean-"ness; ask him, as a proof of his inclination "to your service, and of his power, to prevail "with the Swiss troops to take the oath of "allegiance to you: let him draw them up in "order of battle, and make them cry, Long live "king Henry the IVth. Dispatch Givri to such "of the nobles of the isle of France and Berri, "as are in the army; Humieres to those of

"Picardy;

"Picardy; and employ in this manner to those "of different provinces, such of your servants "as are most proper for that purpose; who "they are your Majesty knows better than we "do; and on the first intelligence you shall "receive from them of the good will of the "soldiery, ask the same service from those of "whose inclinations you are doubtful. As for "the duke d'Epernon, whom I consider as the "most powerful man in your army; I am "inclined to believe him too prudent to neglect "his duty or his interest; treat him with dis-"tinction; he acknowleges your authority by "not opposing it; he can expect no favour "from your enemies, therefore will not chuse "to violate the agreement already made between "you. Be assured you have the superiority "of power in this place. Look into that gar-"den, and you will see two hundred of your "officers, whose chief pride is to defend their "prince. If your accustomed humanity, so "becoming royal dignity, and your real interest, "did not forbid it, at the smallest glance of "your eye they would throw out of the window "every man who should refuse to acknowlege "you for his king."

Henry approved the greatest part of D'Aubigné's advice; and calling marshal Biron to him, said, "The time is now come, my cou-"sin, when your hand must help to place the "crown on my head. It would ill suit your "disposition or mine, to endeavour to animate "you by solicitations; reflect on the properest "measures for us to pursue: but without loss "of time prevail on the Switzers to take the "oath of allegiance to me; and then come, and

"act the part of my father and friend, against "these people who love neither you nor me."

"Sire," replied the marshal, "on this occasion you will discover which of your servants deserve your esteem: we will talk of your affairs at leisure; I now go, not merely to endeavour, but to perform what you command."

During these short conferences, the party most averse to Henry had come to some sort of resolution, and Monsieur d'O was chosen to speak their general sentiments; who addressing the king in their name, told him they were ready to acknowledge him their sovereign, if he would embrace the Catholic religion; allowing him but a few days to get properly instructed in it; intimating, that they preferred death to accepting an huguenot for their king; and that his right to the kingdom depended on his professing the faith established therein. They added, that he could not fear alienating the huguenots, if he recollected how easy it had always been to satisfy them, by allowing them the exercise of their religion, for which they had ever been ready to forego any advantages that the success of their arms might have procured them; as on the other hand, the greatest dangers, even impending ruin, could not induce them to forbear attempting to obtain it.

There could not be a more honourable testimony of the integrity of the huguenots; the truth of which all their past conduct had strongly evinced; and it was not a likely means to prevail on Henry to abandon them: but he had

had probably a ſtronger motive for treating ſuch a propoſal with indignation. So mean a compliance, evidently proceeding only from fear, was incompatible with his noble mind; he had great ſpirit, though little piety; he might ſacrifice his religion to his ambition, but would not purchaſe a crown at the expence of honour, the ſoldier's deity; and in this, as in every other point, Henry was a ſoldier.

AFTER reproaching thoſe who had thus addreſſed him, with the little ſorrow they ſhewed for their deceaſed prince, their diſregard for his dying words, and their want of ardor to revenge his death, which they could not effect but in conjunction with him; he told them, it was ſtrange they ſhould imagine that, by taking advantage of the critical conjuncture, their menaces would have greater influence over him than over many ſimple perſons, who had deſpiſed their power, becauſe they knew how to die. "Is it poſſible," continued the king, "that you can expect ſo ſudden a converſion "from any but a man who has no religion? "Would you wiſh ſuch an one for your king? "Could you put confidence in an atheiſt? or "chuſe to fight under the banners of a perjured and apoſtate prince? I have, as you "obſerve, ſuffered great diſtreſſes; but if my "ſpirit was never depreſſed by them, ſhall I "lay aſide my courage and magnanimity on "ſucceeding to the throne of France? But that "you may not call my ſteadineſs obſtinacy, "nor my diſcretion puſillanimity, I appeal to "your own calmer judgements, when united "with a greater number of peers and great "officers, than I ſee here at preſent. As to

"thoſe

"those who will not give themselves time for "mature deliberation, whom the ill fortune of "France, and their fears, induce to relinquish "my cause, attracted by the fallacious and "unstable prosperity of the kingdom's ene-"mies, I freely consent to their departure; and "shall not object to their seeking their advan-"tage under insolent masters. I have no doubt "but I shall have on my side all those catholics "who love their country, or respect their "honour."

As the king concluded the sentence, Monsieur Givri entered; and with a frankness and vivacity natural to him, went up to the king, and kissing his hand, said, "Sire, I am this "moment come from the flower of your brave "nobles, who postpone their lamentations for "the loss of their prince, till they have reveng-"ed his death; they wait with impatience for "the commands of their new king. You are "the sovereign of the brave, and will be aban-"doned only by cowards." This sudden interruption, followed by notice of the approach of the Switzers, and the arrival of several of the huguenot chiefs, very opportunely put an end to the conference between the king and the catholic lords *.

Indecent behaviour of the Parisians.

The fury and virulence of the leaguers appeared in the strongest colours on the death of king Henry III. They filled Paris with rejoicings; some proposed to erect a statue to the assassin, in the church of Nostre Dame; and to

* Ibid. p. 187. Vie de la Noue, p. 352. Abregé Chron. de Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1213.

take

take from thence, as profane things, those pictures wherein the kings of France were represented. In the pulpits, and in printed libels, Clement was stiled a Saint and a Martyr; his effigies were exposed on the altars, as objects of public veneration; and when the king of Navarre led his army from the environs of Paris, some of the Parisians went to St. Cloud to dig up the earth which continued stained with his blood, not being able to get any part of his body to preserve as relicks, because it had been burnt to ashes. With this earth they loaded a boat, in order to raise a trophy to the assassin in Paris; but the vessel, with all on board it, perished in the river. Nor was this indecent rage and hatred confined to the Parisians: the pope, (Sixtus the 5th) on the first account he received of the assassination of the king, in a studied discourse made the most elaborate panegyrick on Clement; treated his action as surprizing and admirable beyond the work of man; observing that so glorious an act could not have been performed but by the immediate direction of God, and the especial assistance of his providence; and declared the deceased king unworthy of the funeral honours, usually paid to princes*. And of the Pope.

But whatever might be the opinion at Rome, the new king's sentiments were very different; for he determined, fearing any insult should be offered to the corpse of the deceased, to conduct it to Compeigne, and assist at the interment. There might be some policy in this resolution; for, notwithstanding Henry had endeavoured by secret promises to the principal persons in his

* De Thou, tom. vii. p. 495.

army

army to prevent it, yet several of the catholics left him; which occasioned such a reduction of his forces, that he could not prudently maintain

Henry withdraws into Normandy.

his post; but wished to conceal the real cause of his removal. He divided his troops into three bodies; one of them he gave to the duke de Longueville, to lead into Picardy, of which province he was governor; the other he sent into Champagne under the command of marshal D'Aumont; and the third, which was the most considerable, after having performed the funeral honours to the deceased king at Compeigne, he conducted towards Normandy, that he might not be at too great a distance from the towns in his possession near the capital; and yet secure himself a sea port town, if the war should turn out much in his disfavour †.

Dieppe and Caen submit.

Soon after he entered the province of Normandy, monsieur de Chatres, governor of Dieppe, invited him to take possession of that city, which perfectly answered his views; and he continued de Chattes in the government of it. Caen also submitted to him in the like manner, and he took some other towns of less consideration; but was obstructed in his progress by the arrival of the duke de Mayenne, at the head of twenty thousand men; a force to which the king's bore no proportion; but to avoid his powerful enemy neither suited his courage nor his prudence; he therefore pitched his camp at Arques, a small unfortified town, about a league and half from Dieppe. The duke fixed his at a small distance, and kept within his intrenchments

† Ibid. p. 539. *Cayet*, tom. i. p. 236. Hist. du duc de Bouill. liv. 3. p. 146.

for

for three days; though the royal army endeavoured by every kind of bravado to draw him out of it. After that term the two armies engaged in frequent ſkirmiſhes, always to the diſadvantage of the duke's; and on the 21ſt of September they came to a general engagement, wherein the royaliſts, though much leſs than half in number, had ſo greatly the advantage, that the duke de Mayenne thought proper to decamp, and march into Picardy; to preſerve the towns of that province faithful to the League *.

Battle of Arques.

The king having no longer that powerful army to reſtrain him; and hearing that the Pariſians ſpoke with great contempt of his ſmall force, determined to ſhew them it was more formidable than they apprehended; and having received a recruit of four thouſand Engliſh, he marched towards Paris, forced the ſuburbs, plundered them, and threw the city into great conſternation †. He then took Vendome, Sablé, Chateau-Gontier, Mayenne, Laval, Alençon and Falaiſe; but could not ſuccour Bois-de-Vincennes and Pontoiſe, beſieged by the duke de Mayenne; which were reduced to capitulate ‡. Henry ſoon after obliged the duke de Mayenne to raiſe the ſiege of Meulan; but having himſelf laid ſiege to Dreux, the duke's approach determined him to draw off his troops from that enterprize, in order to give the duke battle, though his army was greatly inferior, not having much more than half the number of the enemy, and being particularly deficient in cavalry.

A.D. 1590.

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* Ibid. p. 549. Dav. lib. 10. p. 512. Oecon. roy. de Sully, tom. i. p. 325. Cayet, tom. i. p. 268.
† Ibid. p. 328. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 552.
‡ Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 226.

THE

March 14. Battle of Ivri.

The two armies drew up in order of battle near Ivri. After prayers had been said at the head of the battalions, the king taking in his hand his helmet, which was ornamented with a plume of white feathers, looked round on his army with a countenance expressive of chearfulness and martial ardour, and said to them, "My "fellow soldiers, God is on our side; behold "his enemies and ours; your king is at your "head, march on boldly; if you lose sight of "your standard, let this plume of feathers be "your guide; you shall find it in the road to "honour and victory." The attack began by a general discharge of the king's artillery, before the duke was well prepared for the engagement; which occasioned some confusion in his troops, and the royalists allowed them no time to recover from it. Victory (though not till after a long and desperate contention) declared for Henry; and the duke de Mayenne was reduced to fly to Mantes, after having in vain endeavoured to rally his scattered forces †. In the battle, and the pursuit, his loss was computed at eight hundred cavalry, and eighteen hundred infantry, beside his standards, and his baggage. The latter circumstance gave occasion for a bon mot from one of his officers, which could not be very acceptable, as he was scarcely in a temper to take pleasure in a jest; the officer congratulated him on having at last got the thing for which he had so often wished, an army without baggage ‡. The loss was not inconsiderable on the king's

The army of the league routed.

† De Thou, tom. vii. p. 618. Pere Dan, tom. vi. p. 354. Hist. des derniers troubles de France, liv. 5. p. 19. Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 232. Cayet, tom. i. p. 333.

‡ Hist. Univ. D'Aub. p. 233.

side,

side, several gentlemen of distinguished courage having fallen in the battle, or died of their wounds soon after it.

The duke not thinking himself safe in a town, the inhabitants of which were by the recent victory won over to his enemies, left Mantes the next day; and Henry was received into it with joy. He then determined on laying siege to Paris, and as a necessary prelude, took Meulan, Corbeil, and Lagny; with other places requisite to prevent the conveyance of supplies of provisions into that city. He sat down before Paris with fourteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. The duke de Nemours commanded in the town at the head of eight thousand regular troops, and fifty thousand citizens, above two thirds of which were well armed and exercised; and animated with all the fury which fierce and bigoted preachers can inspire; supported by the pope's authority, and the sanction of the casuistical doctors of the Sorbonne †. So populous a city as Paris could ill subsist without a continual supply of provisions; and though Henry connived at the frequent sale of necessaries carried on in the night time between his men and the Parisians, yet they were soon reduced to the greatest extremities; the common people having nothing to feed on but what is most disgustful to human nature. The duke de Nemours, indeed, took care that the preachers should have a sufficient support, lest hunger might damp their zeal, which was highly necessary to animate the people under the pressure of such extreme distress. The like care was

May 10. The king lays siege to Paris.

† Ibid. p. 234. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 686.

2 taken

taken of those to whom the thirteen gates of the city were entrusted; persons chosen out from such as in the support of the cause had offended beyond the hope of pardon; or selected from the foreign troops in the garrison. To this precaution it may in great measure be attributed that the town held out, while the greatest part of its inhabitants perished with hunger, or by maladies arising from their unwholesome diet *. They expelled great numbers of women and children from their city, as an useless burden, who were humanely received in Henry's camp, and supplied with necessaries: D'Aubigné mentions having at one time twenty-two of these distressed wretches in his tent †.

The king hoped to reconcile the Parisians to him by that humanity of conduct, which left them a power of resisting him, beyond what would otherwise have been possible; but the heart of the furious bigot is impenetrable: the Parisians took advantage of his generosity, without losing any of their hatred towards him; they were exasperated by the evils they suffered, and felt no gratitude that he did not inflict greater, as his interest required; and which would have prevented the mortification he received by the necessity the prince of Parma's approach laid him under of raising the siege. When the prince of Parma and the duke de Mayenne reached Meaux, the king withdrew his troops from the city to Claye, a place between Paris and Meaux; where the two armies were so near together, that

Raises the siege.

August 29.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 234. Cayet, tom. i. p. 371.

† Ibid. p. 236. Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 371.

frequent

frequent and obstinate skirmishes passed between them †, wherein D'Aubigné was generally engaged. Henry wished to give the enemy battle; but the prince of Parma thought it his interest to avoid it, as his view was to relieve Paris without exposing his troops to so dangerous an encounter.

By the persuasion of the marshal de Biron, the king fixed his camp at Chelles; and to prevent the prince of Parma from taking possession of Lagni, which would open to him a road to Paris, he determined to send two regiments thither, and took the marshal de Biron, and D'Aubigné with him, to reconnoitre the place. A dispute arose concerning the measures that should be taken to preserve that post; D'Aubigné represented that the forces destined for that purpose were not sufficient to defend it; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, and Henry had the mortification to see Lagni taken by the enemy, and thereby a free passage to Paris opened to them ‡. Nor was this the only vexation he suffered; the catholics in his army grew mutinous and fearful; and he was reduced to so total a want of money, that he had not sufficient to purchase himself a dinner; and from meer necessity went to dine with monsieur D'O, his treasurer, whom he found at a well-covered table with his friends, while to distress his master he had pretended an inability to furnish him with the smallest supply §. Several of the ca- August 31.

† Ibid. p. 376. Della Guerra di Fiandra, parte 2. lib. 5. p. 108. Dav. lib. 11. p. 669.

‡ Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 240. Della Guerra di Fiandra, parte 2. p. 110.

§ Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 241.

 tholic

tholic nobility believing the king's affairs were declining, quitted his service; and to avoid a more general desertion, he found it necessary to retire farther from Paris; and to keep up the ardour of his soldiers by action. Marshal de Biron, at the head of part of his troops, took Clermont en Bois-voisin; while Henry reinforced the garrisons of such places as were most exposed to the attacks of the enemy*. The prince of Parma laid siege to Corbeil, which though ill fortified, resisted the force of the Spanish army for three weeks, being vigorously defended, till the commander, and almost all the garrison were slain †. The besiegers lost between seven and eight hundred men in the enterprize; which exasperated them so much, that they put to death all the inhabitants; many of them in cold blood, though they were partisans of the league.

The difficulty the prince found in taking this town, discouraged him from any farther attempts; and leaving a thousand men in garrison, he marched towards the frontiers. He had compleated the purpose with which he entered France. By obliging Henry to raise the siege, he had at once removed the threatened danger from the capital, and given the inhabitants time to revictual the city, which was before reduced to the utmost miseries of famine. No insults could induce him to engage in battle with a prince whose only resource was in victory; and by thus disappointing Henry's endeavours, he did him as much harm as by a defeat; for the greatest

* De Thou, tom. vii. p. 664.

† Dav. lib. 11. p. 683. Cayet, tom. i. p. 386. Della Guerra di Fiand. parte 2. p. 112.

part

part of his army were detained only by the hopes of plundering the capital, and when those were frustrated, and a battle was no longer to be expected, they withdrew. But the king's courage did not depend on the number of his men; he determined with a small body to impede the retreat of the enemy, and not suffer the prince to perform so considerable a service to the leaguers with impunity. The prince had not proceeded far before the king's party recovered Corbeil by stratagem; and found upon the pavement in the streets the dead bodies of children, some of them in their cradles, that the Spaniards had thrown out of the windows: a spectacle which proved fatal to the garrison, for the enraged conquerors put them all to the sword *.

The king drawing together a considerable body of horse, followed the prince in his retreat, harassing his army in such a manner, that it reached the frontiers in very bad condition †; November. and had it been under the conduct of a less able general, must have been entirely destroyed. In this march the king appeared to vulgar eyes to drive the Spaniards out of the kingdom, and they to fly before him; a point of view so glorious, that it brought a great number of towns over to his side; and having got possession of several in Normandy, he determined to besiege Rouen. A. D. 1591.

Card. de Bourbon committed to D'Aubigné's care.

During the course of this year D'Aubigné divided his time between the king's army and the province of Poictou, where his affairs required

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 242, 243. De Thou, tom. vii. p. 669 and 671.

† Davila, lib. 11. p. 695.

his preſence; though the deſire of ſharing in every action where honour might be obtained, tempted him to make frequent excurſions to thoſe places where his maſter was engaged in perſon. Soon after the death of Henry III. the king apprehending that the cardinal of Bourbon was not ſufficiently ſafe in the caſtle of Chinon, cauſed him to be removed into the lower Poictou, of which the ſieur de la Bouillaie was governor. Maillezais was judged at firſt the propereſt place for the cardinal's abode; Pleſſis Mornay objected to it, as it might be dangerous to truſt him in the hands of D'Aubigné, who was governor of that town, and had received ſo many juſt cauſes of offence from the king; but Henry replied, he ſhould require from him a promiſe of the faithful diſcharge of his truſt, which would be a ſufficient ſecurity *. A ſtrong proof of the confidence he had in D'Aubigné's honour; as the ſafe guarding of the cardinal's perſon was of the higheſt importance to the king. Henry had a juſt ſenſe of D'Aubigné's probity; he knew that his fidelity was not to be undermined by intereſt, ſhaken by mortifications, or diſappointments; nor even conquered by injuries; and to that perfect knowledge might in ſome meaſure, poſſibly, be attributed the little reward he received for his long ſervices. His maſter knew that no diſguſt could induce him to quit the party; conſcious at the ſame time that he was more ſtrongly attached to it by the intereſt of his religion than by any private reſpects. D'Aubigné admired the hero; he loved the king for his affability and engaging manners; but his ſoul was devoted to him only as the champion of the hu-

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* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 103.

guenots,

guenots, for whom he was ever ready to sacrifice his fortune and his life. Thus he secured the king's confidence, without gaining his affection; but those who knew him less, flattered themselves his integrity might not be incorruptible.

He had no sooner the cardinal under his care, than an Italian gentleman brought him the following letter from the duchess of Retz: Duchess of Retz attempts to corrupt him.

"I hope that expressions of the sincere friendship the marshal de Retz, my husband, and myself, bear towards you, and the warm assurances of our ardent desire for your advancement and the welfare of our young cousins your children, will not be unacceptable to you. Shew the world, now you have a fair opportunity, that you have spirit to resent and revenge the injuries you have received; which will afford me the means of proving to you, that, I am, &c." Her letter.

When D'Aubigné had read this letter, the bearer declared his commission; which was to offer him the immediate payment of two hundred thousand crowns; or the government of Belleisle, with fifty thousand crowns; on condition that he should connive at his prisoner's escape. D'Aubigné replied, "that the second "proposition was the more eligible, as it seemed "to offer him a means of eating in peace and "safety the bread of treachery: but as his "conscience would follow him closely into all "places, it would embark with him when he "should pass into that island, and be his per"petual tormenter: therefore the messenger "had nothing to do but to return by the road

"he came, for that had he not granted him a "safe conduct, he would send him bound hand "and feet to the king his master *."

When the leaguers found they had nothing to hope from negociation and bribery, they attempted to surprize Maillezais; but being in this also disappointed, the governor's vigilance convinced them that the first, and most necessary step, was to destroy him. With this view a captain Dauphin, the chief of a band which had for some time lived by pillaging the lower Poictou, pretended an ardent desire to revenge himself on the count de Brissac for some severe reprehensions he had received from him in regard to his male-practices; and proposed a conference with D'Aubigné: who at the same time received information from Poictiers and Rochelle, that Dauphin made this proposition only to obtain an opportunity of attempting his life, to which he was instigated by the count de Brissac. D'Aubigné, in hopes of so managing the affair as to get the count into his hands, was not intimidated by the intelligence given him, but appointed Dauphin to meet him at break of day in an empty house, a little way out of the town. All preliminaries being agreed, D'Aubigné at the stated hour went alone out of Maillezais, causing the bridge to be drawn up as soon as he had passed it; and finding Dauphin at the place, said to him, "I have been warned against giving thee this meeting, and assured that thy "design in asking it was only to execute orders "given thee to assassinate me. I would not "credit the charge; but if thou hast any such

* Ibid. p. 104.

" intention, here are two swords, take thy choice " of either, and on equal terms attempt to " execute thy purpose: yonder lies a boat, " which I have sent thither on purpose, that " thou mayest escape beyond this marsh, if the " event of the combat proves favourable to " thee." Dauphin, astonished at this proposition, and overcome by so frank and generous a procedure, threw down his sword, with all possible tokens of submission, and confessed his purpose. They entered then into a conference, which turned to no account; and if Dauphin was disappointed of his design, D'Aubigné was not less mortified at being frustrated of his hopes, by finding no means of executing his project against the count de Brissac, or of reaping any other fruits from this meeting, than the reproaches of his own judgement, for having rashly and uselessly exposed himself to a danger, which as a prudent governor, whose safety was of great importance to the town, he ought to have avoided *. Fontenai being put into proper order, the cardinal was removed thither, where he soon after died, and set D'Aubigné at liberty, to bear a very considerable share in the reduction of many towns in Poictou; where La Bouillaie, commander of the troop, owed much of his success to D'Aubigné's conduct and intrepidity, who, notwithstanding his avocations in that province, repaired frequently to the king's camp before Paris, and distinguished himself in the siege, or rather blockade of that city †.

THE king had drawn together as great a part of his forces to besiege Rouen as could safely be — Siege of Rouen.

* Ibid. p. 106.

† Hist, Univ. D'Aub. tom, iii. liv. 3. chap. 5, and 6.

be collected from his best garrisoned towns; and from the several provinces of France, where they had successfully defended his cause. The Hollanders sent him near three thousand men, under the command of count Philip of Nassau; queen Elizabeth four thousand, led by Roger Williams; a short time after the earl of Essex brought him a reinforcement of English infantry; and the prince of Anhalt a body of Germans; all together composed an army of 35,000 men *.

Nov. 11. THE marquis de Villars commanded a strong garrison in the town, and had used every means to render it impregnable; as obstinately bent to defend the place as the king was to take it, who exerted all his skill and valour in the attempt, and even mounted guard every fourth night himself. On one of those nights he forced a trench which Villars had caused to be made on the outside of the castle, and when taken gave the defence of it to the English; but it did not remain long in their hands, for Villars regained it the next night. Henry, unaccustomed to relinquish an advantage once gained, determined two nights after on a second attempt; whereupon, Williams, eager to recover his and his soldiers honour, requested that the English might share the enterprize, and make the first attack; which being granted them, they forced their way into the trench with such fury that they drove out the enemy, though double the number that defended it when it was first taken †.

* De Thou, tom. viii. p. 46. Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 415.

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 259.

Attacks on the part of the besiegers, and sallies on that of the besieged, were frequent. In one of those which was led by Villars himself, the king being at some distance on horseback, with only Williams and D'Aubigné, perceiving that his men gave way, rode down a hill, which could not without difficulty be descended even on foot; and spurring his horse, forced it over the dam in the river Aubette, with such manifest danger to his life, that his companions, though two of the bravest men of the age, durst not follow him; but sought a passage more fordable. His presence soon made the enemy retire; but the brave Grillon, who had preserved the party from a total defeat, had his arm broken by a musket ball *.

The besieged were much encouraged by the approach of the prince of Parma, at the head of above twenty thousand men. Henry was very desirous of engaging him in battle, which the prince chose to avoid, expecting to be joined in a short time by the duke de Mayenne, and other reinforcements. In this resolution the king appointed D'Aubigné sergent de battaille; and leaving marshal Biron to continue the siege, selected a corps of his best troops, and the bravest of the nobility, and led them to meet the prince of Parma; who was marching in such excellent order, that the king was not only disappointed of his hopes of gaining some advantage over him, but being overpowered by numbers, with difficulty made good his retreat, after receiving a slight wound †. A.D. 1592.

* Ibid. p. 260.

† De Thou, tom. viii. p. 57. Oecon. roy. &c. de Sully, tom. i. p. 423. Guerra di Fiandra, parte ii. lib. 6. p. 126.

In

In this ſkirmiſh, D'Aubigné, being one of the laſt that retired, was in the heat of the engagement thrown off a cauſeway, and attacked by ſeveral of the enemy, who muſt in a very ſhort time have put an end to his life, had not Mr. D'Arambure perceived his deſperate ſituation, and calling three of his friends, inſtantly haſtened to his reſcue, which he happily effected; and gave him leiſure to regain the cauſeway, and accompany the king to Aumale *.

Henry, not long after, revenged himſelf for this diſappointment, by an unexpected attack on the quarters of the dukes de Mayenne and D'Aumale, who had then joined the prince, where he made a conſiderable ſlaughter. But after many ſkirmiſhes with various fortune; ſeveral attacks made on the town; and many very vigorous ſallies of the beſieged repulſed; the prince of Parma found means, by the negligence of the guard in Monſieur de Fervaques'
March 8. quarters, to introduce ſuccours into the city †;
The ſiege raiſed. and in the latter end of March, Henry finding his views fruſtrated, and that it was to no purpoſe to continue the ſiege, withdrew his troops
April. from the town, and cloſely followed the prince of Parma; who having ſucceeded in what he had undertaken, the relief of the city of Rouen, had begun his march towards Paris. Henry ſeized every opportunity of harraſſing the prince's army, and after deſtroying great numbers in various ſkirmiſhes, and reducing the reſt into great diſtreſs from ſcarcity of proviſions, had planned a general attack to be begun the next morning;

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 263.
† De Thou, tom. viii. p. 64. Dav. lib. 12. p. 758.

but

but was diſappointed of his hopes, by the prince's having effected a retreat in the night, by ways imagined impracticable *. May.

The prince made but a ſhort ſtay at Paris; and then led his army back into the Low Countries; where, in the latter end of the year, a wound he had received in his march from Rouen to Paris †, which had never been cured; joined with the vexation of ſeeing the arms of the male-contents ſo ſucceſsful in Holland; put a period to his life ‡.

The death of an enemy of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities was a fortunate circumſtance for Henry; but could not compenſate for the loſs of ſome of his braveſt captains, which had happened that year, particularly, the incomparable La Noue §, St. Gelais, the marſhal de Biron, and la Vallette (brother to the duke d'Epernon) governor of Provence, who had ſhared with Leſdiguieres in the glory of a long ſeries of ſucceſſes againſt the duke of Savoy, in Piedmont, Dauphiné, and Provence ‖.

The prince of Parma's death delivered the duke de Mayenne of a rival he both feared and hated; the great abilities of that general rendered the power of Spain formidable, even to thoſe who had recourſe to it for the ſupport of their party. The duke was ſenſible that the

* Ibid. p. 71.
† Oecon. &c. de Sully, tom. i. p. 435. Cayet, tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 32.
‡ Guerra di Fiandra, de Ren. parte ii. lib. 6. p. 134.
§ Vie de La Noue, p. 366.
‖ Hiſt. du Connetable de Leſdiguieres, p. 244.

king

king of Spain aimed only at aggrandizing himself, under the colour of defending the cause of religion; and that he would use every art to dispossess him of the sovereign power which he had so long exercised: this jealousy had given rise to frequent dissentions between him and the prince of Parma; whose views and operations the duke had for some time opposed and counteracted on every occasion, from which Henry reaped considerable advantages. The Spanish monarch at length growing weary of incurring a certain expence for a precarious interest, determined to fix the point; and supported by the influence of the Pope, insisted on an assembly of the states, in order to elect a catholic sovereign; asserting that no heretic could ascend the throne of France *.

A. D. 1593.

Assembly of the states.

This step was not more alarming to the king than to the duke de Mayenne; who conscious of being hated by the Spaniards, well knew he had no chance of being elected to that power which he then enjoyed, and could not consent to relinquish; and when he could no longer prevent the states from assembling, he sought every means to frustrate the views of those who had obliged him to convene them. The Spanish ambassadors offered great supplies of money and t[illegible] if the Infanta, Clara Eugenia, daughter to the king of Spain, were elected; treating the Salic law, which excludes females from the throne of France, as an idle objection: but finding the assembly would not consent to receive a woman for their sovereign, the ambassadors offered the

* De Thou, tom. viii. p. 199. Cayet, tom. ii. liv. 4. p. 108.

same

ſame aſſiſtance, if a catholic prince of France, or Lorrain, were elected jointly with the Infanta, to whom ſhe could be given in marriage. After long and warm debate, the duke of Guiſe was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon; but the duke de Mayenne, not finding the exaltation of his nephew a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of his power, contrived to get the election of a king poſtponed *.

DURING the ſeſſion of the aſſembly, which from the abſence of many of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom did not deſerve the name of eſtates, a conference was carried on between a ſtipulated number of catholic deputies from the king, and the moſt zealous of the leaguers, in order to treat of a peace, little deſired by the duke de Mayenne, whom the clamours of the Pariſians, and ſome others of his party, grown tired of the war, and awakened to a due eſteem for the king, had obliged, contrary to his inclination, to conſent to the deputation; but as he would not acknowledge Henry as ſovereign of France, nor treat with a heretic, he carried his compliance no farther than to agree to a conference with ſome of the catholics on the ſubject †; not without hopes, by means of this con[illegible]ſion, to draw them off from their party, and alſo to prevent hoſtilities till the arrival of the foreign ſuccours he expected.

* Ibid. p. 291. L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 241. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroy, tom. i. p. 339.

† L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 215. Vie de Du Pleſſis Morn. p. 194. Memoires d'Etat de Vill. tom. i. p. 332. Dav. lib. 13. p. 858.

The conference concluded without any other effect than a truce between the parties for three months; all poſſibility of a ſtable agreement being precluded by the deputies of the leaguers inſiſting on Henry's converſion, and reconciliation with the pope, as the neceſſary preliminary to any treaty with him; refuſing to acknowledge him for their king till he had received his holineſs's abſolution. This obſtinacy, together with a party newly formed, under the title of Le Tiers parti †, compoſed of perſons who denied equally the authority of an heretical prince, and of the league, very much alarmed Henry, and made him fear any longer to delay his renunciation of the reformed religion. All the catholics about his court were ready to take advantage of his fears, and urged him in the ſtrongeſt manner to haſten his converſion.

While this point was in agitation, D'Aubigné being in the room with the king, when only another perſon, and he a huguenot, was preſent; ſeized the opportunity to repreſent to him the peculiar bleſſings he had received from above, and the curſes which always follow ingratitude; urging that it was more eligible to reign over a corner of France, like the true and faithful ſervant of God, ſurrounded by ſubjects of tried affection and fidelity; than to hold a precarious ſovereignty, trampled upon by the pope, inſulted by the reconciled leaguers, and ſecretly deſpiſed by thoſe who had intimidated him with menaces of dangers that did not exiſt; all equally rapacious to divide between them a kingdom, the ſpirit of whoſe king they had ſubdued. "The

† L'Eſprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 153.

"very

" very dregs of the people," ſaid D'Aubigné, " become formidable to a prince reduced into " ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs; fear prevents re- " bellion, contempt excites it. I acknowledge," continued he, " that the path of virtue is more " rugged, and more intricate; and will lead " you a wider circuit before it will conduct you " to the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown; but by " the other road you can never arrive at an " effectual ſovereignty. Rome trembles with " the apprehenſion of ſeeing you eſtabliſhed on " the throne by a ſeries of victories; conſcious " that a king of France who ſhall ſhake off the " yoke of papal power, who can convert uſeleſs " expences to his own ſupport and ſecurity, " dedicating the ſtipends of monks to the pay " of a brave ſoldiery, may on a reaſonable cal- " culation maintain three armies of an hundred " thouſand men each, ſtrengthen them with an " hundred cannon, keep his garriſons well ſup- " plied, his officers well paid, relieve his ſubjects " of a third part of the taxes which oppreſs " them, and put annually a conſiderable ſum " into his treaſury. The abſurd attempt to " form a third party, and the more than ordi- " nary importunity with which the catholics " preſs your converſion, ariſe only from the con- " fuſion which reigns among your enemies, and " the difficulties which occur in the choice of a " king. There is not one of the pretenders to " the crown, who has not ſignified by his emiſ- " ſaries, that if the choice does not fall on him, " he will immediately fight under your banners; " thus in a war with the Infanta's huſband, all " his rivals will fight on your ſide. It is well " known that, except a few who have offended " beyond the hope of pardon, the Pariſians

D'Aubigné's advice to the king.

" liſten

"listen with pleasure to no discourse that does "not turn on your generous placability; nor "have they any wish at heart but to throw "themselves on your mercy, and obtain your "pardon by submission. The ridiculous con-"duct of their clergy has at length rendered "them the objects of their derision. It is true, "that when the people declare their desire of "submitting to you, they accompany it with a "supposition of your conversion, but with the "modest restriction of, *if that may be*; having "no such hopes, but what are instilled into "them by the catholics who are about your "person. The other day as the duke de Ne-"mours came from council, where the duke "of Lorrain's eldest son had been recommended "as a proper person to be raised to the throne, "he said to one of the most factious citizens "who spake of you under the appellation of the "king of Navarre, *There are no longer any but* "*fools who do not see that title must be changed.* "Monsieur Vitri, in coming out of the same "council, cursing their folly and nonsense said, "*It is much more eligible to enter into the service* "*of the brave huguenot.* He, and his uncle la "Chatre, are ready to acknowlege you as their "sovereign. Have patience, Sire, and wait the "effects of their confusion. Suffer them to "elect their king of straw; that act will bring "great numbers over to you; let them thus "collect all the venom of the party into one "head, that at one blow you may destroy all "your enemies; and use the excellent under-"standing, and quick discernment which God "has given you, to distinguish the difference "between a king who has won a crown by wis-

"dom

" dom and valour, and one who has obtained
" it by ſubmiſſion *."

This ſpirited advice had ſome effect on the king, who for ſome days ſhewed an increaſed reluctance to a change of religion; but this only ſtimulated to greater urgency thoſe who had undertaken to perſuade him; among whom none had ſo much influence as the ducheſs of Beaufort. She had been a friend to the reformed; but having conceived hopes of the king's marrying her, to which he was then much diſpoſed, ſhe conſidered as a neceſſary ſtep towards it, his conver ſion to a religion in which alone he could obtain a regular and indiſputable diſpenſation from his marriage with Margaret the deceaſed king's ſiſter. The long ſeries of years paſſed by Henry in unremitted fatigue and danger, the probability of a tedious continuance of the ſame labours, before he could aſcend the throne if he remained an huguenot, with the uncertainty of even attaining to it at all without profeſſing the Catholic faith, were powerful arguments for his converſion; the more eaſily liſtened to, as he had never been ſtrongly attached to his religion; and had often found the rigid piety of the reformed clergy very troubleſome, who did not ſcrupl[e] interrupting his licentious pleaſures by ſe[illegible]emonſtrances; boldly reprehending him for his favourite vices. The natural humanity of his temper added weight to the arguments of the catholics, inſpiring him with a deſire of reſtoring peace to a nation long torn with civil commotions, and of changing the dreadful ravages, and cruel havock of a civil war, into a ſtate

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 3. p. 292.

The king's conversion. 1593, July 25. of eaſe and plenty. As the lives of thouſands of his countrymen depended on his converſion, it is not to be wondered at that humanity, aided by ambition, and the love of pleaſure, triumphed over other important conſiderations, determining him to make a public recantation of his former tenets, and ſeek reconciliation with the He goes to maſs. Romiſh church; accordingly on the 25th of July he went to maſs in the church of St. Denis *.

THIS event, though not unexpected, threw the truly pious among the huguenots into the utmoſt conſternation. They had flattered themſelves with hopes of ſeeing the exerciſe of their religion ſecured, if not univerſally eſtabliſhed under the reign of a huguenot prince; and little doubted but in time they ſhould have been able to ſeat him on the throne, without his being reduced to make any conceſſions. They now ſaw themſelves brought into a more dangerous ſituation than they had ever yet been. Henry had ſuffered too much controul while he was the chief of their party to love them ſincerely, even at the time that he owed his ſucceſſes to their valour: but now that he was conſcious he had diſappointed their hopes, they could not believe but he would behold them with ſuſpicion and diſguſt. From the time that the catholics began to adhere to him, they had entirely engroſſed all the favours he had to beſtow; he had even privately given them his word that the huguenots ſhould not ſhare with them any poſts

* Dav. lib. 13. p. 881. De Thou, tom. viii. p. 309. Oeconomies roy. &c. de Sully, tom. ii. p. 62. Cayet, liv. 5. p. 223.

of

of truſt or profit; a promiſe induſtriouſly divulged by thoſe to whom it was made; and there was little probability they ſhould ever ſuffer him to break it; or to grant any conſiderable indulgences to the profeſſors of that religion he had abjured; which he could not even tolerate, without exciting ſuſpicions of the ſincerity of his converſion. The huguenots had therefore little to expect from his gratitude; and after having ſpent their youth and fortunes in his ſervice, were not only diſappointed of their hopes, but left without a leader and protector who could render them formidable, and enable them to obtain by their ſtrength and importance what they could not gain by favour. Till now they had always had a prince of the blood at their head; and fought under the banners of men of the greateſt conſequence in the kingdom; but by this event they were deprived both of countenance and protection. Henry, indeed, endeavoured to quiet their fears by private aſſurances of his favour and affection; attributing his ſubmiſſion to the church to his deſire of ſparing the blood of his ſubjects, of reſcuing them from the influence of foreign power, and ſaving the kingdom from the yoke of Spain, with which it was threatened; intimating that although dire neceſſity obliged him to go to maſs, his heart would ſtill be with the huguenots *: but they gave little faith to theſe profeſſions; yet ſtill continued in his ſervice, till Paris, and moſt of the principal towns in the kingdom, withdrawing from the league, ſubmitted to him.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 4. p. 364. Vie de du Pleſſis Mornay, p. 207.

But neither the generosity with which the king treated all such as came over to his service, nor the joy of the people for their newly acquired peace and safety, could preserve Henry from private malice, and the rage of bigotry. He had not been converted above a month, when, from information received, one Peter Barriere was seized, and convicted of a design to assassinate the king †; and in little more than a year after, the same crime was attempted by Jean Chatel; but Henry happening fortunately to stoop, as the villain gave the blow, it only wounded him in the lip, and broke one of his teeth ‡.

These enterprizes gave some interruption to the pleasure Henry enjoyed in receiving overtures from the commanders in the principal towns, and the chief nobility among the leaguers; though their loyalty did not operate till they had made some fruitless endeavours to obtain from Spain sufficient support to enable them to continue the war *. Nor would they lay down their arms without first obtaining such honours, governments, or other emoluments, as they thought proper to demand. But the lower ranks of people were so desirous of enjoying once more the blessings of peace, that it would have been difficult for those who were averse to it, to have kept up an army of their own countrymen. The defection of the most upright and zealous huguenots also gave some mortification to the king. A great many of the officers of that

† De Thou, tom. viii. p. 321.
‡ Cayet, liv. 6. p. 432.
* De Thou, tom. viii. p. 362.

persuasion

persuasion had followed their prince's example: more attached to their worldly interests than to their religion, they could not resolve to sacrifice all their hopes of reward for the long services they had rendered him, to a doctrine which they well knew would deprive those who professed it of all the emoluments of government; for the pope had made the king's fulfilling the private engagement he had entered into with the catholics, of giving no preferments to the reformed, one of the conditions on which he granted him absolution for his former heresy. Others among the huguenots, more careful of their honour, though equally attentive to their interests, by artfully temporizing, in some measure saved the one, without relinquishing the other, continuing to adhere to the reformed church, while they approved their master's abjuration † of its tenets. Nor were they deficient in plausible arguments in justification of his apostacy. To sheathe the sword of civil discord, and restore peace to a ruined kingdom, depopulated by intestine divisions and foreign invaders, was a motive which must plead strongly in every humane breast in favour of the king's conduct; but was not sufficient to justify it to men who had joyfully sacrificed ease and fortune, and dedicated even their lives, to the defence of the religion he abjured. The huguenots found the king so little inclined to take any steps in their favour, that they judged it necessary to concert measures for their own safety.

Before his conversion he had ordered the churches to convene a synod at St. Maixent, in-

† Hist. de Henry duc de Bouill. liv. 4. p. 172.

order to elect a certain number of deputies from among them to attend him at Mantes, and receive directions for their future conduct; but after he entered the Romish church he revoked that order, and thereby increased their apprehensions *. But the assembly being met at the time appointed, D'Aubigné, who was one of the most incorruptible of the party, and not to be biassed by any view to the rewards he might justly have expected for the signal services he had done the king, determined not to forsake his distressed friends; though they had so little prospect of any resources as scarcely allowed a probability that his attachment could prove of any advantage to them, to oppose to the absolute certainty of its being hurtful to his private interests. As he was travelling to St. Maixant, in great despondency of mind, with one of the huguenot ministers, the conversation between them naturally fell on the ruin of their party, and the difficulty of preventing the evils which threatened it; till growing warm with the cause, they agreed not to suffer despair so far to prevail over them, as to prevent their making some effort, however fruitless it might prove, to obtain redress. Thus resolved, they selected six of the most able and zealous from among those who composed the synod; and D'Aubigné having invited them to supper, laid before them the distressed state of their church; the little good they had to expect; and the great evils they had to fear from the king's change of religion; which not only deprived them of a chief and protector, but likewise of the indulgences they might have

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. liv. 4. p. 363. Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, p. 200.

hoped

hoped from many catholic princes, as he would fear bringing the ſincerity of his converſion into queſtion, were he to ſhew them any degree of favour; and being ſenſible that the catholics were not truly attached to him, he would be under continual apprehenſions of diſguſting them. Having ſufficiently awakened in his auditors a ſenſe of the dangers which threatened them and their brethren, D'Aubigné propoſed that they ſhould conſider what remedies could be applied to the impending evils, and determine on ſome uſeful courſe to prevent their entire deſtruction.

BEFORE they entered on this deliberation, one of their miniſters read prayers to them, according to the uſual practice of the huguenots before they commenced any thing of importance, whether in action or council; but as ſoon as they had performed their devotions, three of their number withdrew, after repreſenting to their friends the dangers to which they would expoſe themſelves by the attempt they meditated, and the little probability that ſo ſmall a number of men, ſhould be able either to rouſe their own party out of the lethargy of deſpair, or prevail with the king to ſhew them that favor they deſerved from him. The juſtneſs of theſe obſervations could not be denied, but they were not of ſufficient force to damp the ardor of thoſe to whom they were addreſſed. The difficulty of obtaining redreſs, rendered their ſtate the more deſperate, and thereby animated them to exert the more vigorouſly their utmoſt powers to raiſe the ſpirit of their deſponding party, and engage them in an attempt to obtain the free exerciſe of their religion, and the ſecurity of their perſons.

Warm with this reſolution they entered the ſynod; where D'Aubigné made ſo full, and ſo ſtrong a repreſentation of the melancholy ſituation of the huguenot church, laid ſo plainly before them all the evils they had to apprehend, and urged ſo forcibly how much they were bound by duty to their religion, themſelves, and their poſterity, to get their preſent uncertain ſtate changed into ſome firm eſtabliſhment, that he prevailed on them to ſend from among them ſome of the moſt able, to the huguenots of all the other provinces of the kingdom, to perſuade them to appoint deputies from each, to attend the king at a time agreed upon; notwithſtanding the revocation of his order to that effect; with a petition to his majeſty to direct in what manner he would have them conduct themſelves for the future; to intreat that he would be pleaſed to order a general aſſembly of the huguenots, that they might all receive his directions at the ſame time; and alſo that he would change the truce, now the only foundation for the quiet ſtate of the kingdom, into a ſettled peace *.

A. D. 1593. December. This plan was ſo ſucceſsful, that all the deputies met at Mantes on the 12th of December, where the king then was, and preſented their petition. He promiſed to cauſe the edict of Poictiers, given in the year 1577, to be republiſhed; and anſwered, in ſuch general and vague terms their requeſt for an aſſembly of the churches, that explaining it in their favor, they appointed the month of May in the following year for a general aſſembly, to be held at St. Foix.

* Hiſt. Univ. D'Aub. loc. cit.

Foix †. According to the king's promise, the edict of Poictiers was republished in the parliament of Paris, but with little effect, as the provincial parliaments refused to register it; and it was also very much restrained, by concessions made in opposition to it, in the private treaties between the king, and such catholic nobles as came over to his service. A. D. 1594.

When the assembly met at St. Foix, D'Aubigné drew up a petition to the king, wherein was specified all that the huguenots desired from him. This was presented to him, but it contained more articles than he chose to answer, and higher demands than he thought proper to grant, if he were secretly inclined to comply with their request; which is by no means certain; though the huguenots believed, or affected to believe it; perhaps as an apology for the warmth and frequency of their solicitations: but if they judged him rightly, he was checked by the fear of disobliging the pope, and his catholic subjects; so that all they gained was promises that were not observed; and permission to hold an assembly at Saumur in the December following; where D'Aubigné distinguished himself with his usual spirit. Even his own private afflictions could not render him insensible to the common cause. He had at this time the misfortune to lose his wife, whom he loved with uncommon tenderness, but whose society he had seldom enjoyed; seeing her only for short intervals, snatched from the dangers and fatigues of war; when the expectation of a speedy departure poisoned the pleasure of meeting. The time was now come May.

† Ibid. p. 366. Vie de Du Plessis Morpay. p. 210.

when

when he might with little interruption have indulged his affection, and in the bosom of his beloved family enjoyed social and domestic happiness; but all those flattering hopes were fatally destroyed by her death. His house became the scene of affliction; the sight of his friends reminded him of his misfortune; the military life alone promised him a new train of thought, and some suspension of his sorrows.

A. D. 1595.

THE war the king had declared against Spain, offered D'Aubigné some opportunities for the exertion of that martial spirit which had actuated him from his earliest years. Henry was then besieging La Fere*; in his camp D'Aubigné was sensible he might find the relief which was become so necessary to him; but his conduct in the assemblies of the reformed church had so much offended Henry, that he was said to have declared in the presence of many persons, that if ever D'Aubigné fell into his hands he would put him to death. This menace would have deterred many from presenting themselves before him, but it had a different effect on D'Aubigné. His pride was piqued when he found that his retirement from court, and his obstinate refusal to return thither, were attributed to vexation for having lost the king's favor, since he ascended the throne of France; and that the courage and zeal with which he laboured to raise the drooping cause of religion, was considered as the consequence of despair and resentment. He was not conscious of deserving so ill at the king's hands for his steady attachment to a party, to whom that prince owed his crown, though policy

* Cayet, tom. iii. liv. 7. p. 529.

had

had induced him to quit it, and to neglect its interests, as that it should endanger his life. But even should the king prove unjust, he rather chose to be the victim of his injustice, than to be suspected of fear. Nor was this the strongest proof he ever gave of his courage. Life has few charms for the afflicted; a coward, when reduced to a state of misery, will boldly face death; even cowardice may lead him to seek it. Many of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity lose all just claim to the reputation of courage by having been fatalists, and some in all ages have had as little right to pretend to it, since they have been tired of the life they so freely exposed. He who believes the hour of his death is so certainly decreed that no action of his can hasten, or retard it, and he who feels life a burden of which he would gladly be delivered, is equally disqualified for making any pretensions to courage. D'Aubigné may perhaps be considered at this time under the latter predicament; but be that as it may, he determined to have some share in the siege of La Fere.

The king being then quartered at Chaulny, D'Aubigné repaired thither, and went directly to the duchess of Beaufort's house, where he learnt that his majesty was expected. Two gentlemen of high rank, and who were old friends to D'Aubigné, as soon as they saw him, pressed his immediate departure in the most earnest and affectionate manner; intreating that he would not appear before the king, who was exasperated against him to the most violent degree. Their advice was strengthened by his hearing a consultation among the officers of the household, whether he ought to be delivered up to the captain of the guards, or to the civil magistrate;

but

but his resolution was unalterable; and as night drew on, he placed himself among the people, who were waiting with flambeaux in their hands, to light the king on his arrival. In this situation he remained till his majesty appeared; and as the coach drove by, heard him say to those who were with him, There's monseigneur D'Aubigné. The epithet of monseigneur, according to Henry's usual method of speaking, seemed to portend no very favorable reception; but not discouraged by it, he advanced to the side of the coach as the king got out of it, who not only embraced him, but bade him hand the duchess; and made her unmask to salute him; while the courtiers, with smiles, asked each other, "Is this the treatment "we expected him to receive, and does the "fair Gabriella sign his condemnation with a "kiss?"

When the king entered his own apartment, he ordered every one to leave the room except the duchess of Beaufort, Juliette d'Etrées, her sister, and D'Aubigné, between whom, and the duchess, he walked above two hours. During their conversation the king shewed the scar made in his lip by the wound he received from Jean Chastel; on which D'Aubigné said, "Sire, you "have yet renounced God only with your lips, he "has therefore suffered only your lip to be "pierced; but if ever your heart renounces him, "he will direct the wound to your heart." The king did not appear offended at a prediction so rough and shocking; but the duchess cried out, "A thought finely expressed! but ill applied." "True, madam," replied D'Aubigné, "be-"cause it will have no effect."

THE

THE duchefs of Beaufort had always held the huguenots in fuch high efteem, that fhe fuffered no fervants about her who were not of that perfuafion, and now fhewed a ftrong inclination to attach D'Aubigné to her fervice; poffibly from a conviction that if fhe could gain him, fhe fhould fecure to herfelf a fteady, bold, and fincere friend; a bleffing no where fo neceffary, and yet no where fo hard to acquire as in a court; where thofe who profefs the ftrongeft attachment, are leaft to be depended upon. Henry, from a defire to gratify her, or with defign of attaching the huguenots more ftrongly to him by a mark of confidence, and of giving them a dependance which would not be dangerous to him, on account of the extreme youth, and nearnefs of blood of their future chief, propofed to commit his fon Cæfar, afterwards duke de Vendome, to D'Aubigné's care and tuition; and caufing him to be taken out of bed, and brought naked to them, he put him into D'Aubigné's arms, and charged him to fetch the child when it had compleated the third year of its age, in order to conduct it into Saintonge, and breed it up among the huguenots, that it's connexion with them might be as intimate as poffible. A fcheme which never took effect, and poffibly was never really formed, but only pretended, to make D'Aubigné believe, and confequently report him, to be very favorably inclined towards the reformed party.

THE effects of the deep affliction which D'Aubigné had fuffered for the lofs of his wife, appeared during the time he was at the fiege of La Fere. For three months he had paffed moft of his nights in tears; to ftop the violence of weeping, he had made it a cuftom to prefs with his

his hands very hard against that part of his side where the spleen lies; by which means bursting a blood vessel, a mass of blood was collected, and lay so long coagulated as brought his life into danger*.

The operations of the siege were a good deal retarded by a very severe illness with which the king was attacked, for it proved of so dangerous a nature as left his servants little power to attend to any thing else †. When his disorder was at the height, he was much disturbed by some religious scruples, conscious that his course of life had not been consonant to the Christian doctrine: in this perplexity he sent to D'Aubigné, as one whose conscience was a rigid judge, and whose frankness of nature would not suffer him to deceive even his prince, from a dangerous desire to set his mind at peace. He caused the door of his chamber to be locked, and after they had twice joined in prayers to the Almighty, he exhorted him to tell him plainly, and with that, sometimes unpleasing, but always useful sincerity, from which he had never deviated, whether he believed he had ever sinned against the Holy Ghost.

D'Aubigné, not taking himself for so deep a divine as the king thought him, endeavoured to substitute one of the huguenot ministers to so delicate an office; but the king would not consent; nor indeed could he have done it without giving umbrage to the catholics, and bringing the orthodoxy of his faith into suspicion. D'Aubigné was therefore obliged to assume the office of

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 100.

† Oecon. Roy. & de Sully, tom. II. p. 443.

casuist,

casuist, and began by a discussion of the four marks by which only the sin against the Holy Ghost is described. He observed, that the first is, the commission of the sin during the consciousness of its sinfulness; the second, the wilful embraçing of error, and repelling the spirit of truth; the third, to be without compunction and repentance, which, if real, will inspire a hatred of sin, and of ourselves on account of our wickedness; and the fourth, a despair of finding mercy with God. Having thus described it, he recommended to the king an examination of his conscience, and the state of his own mind; in order to resolve the doubts which tormented him. From hence arose a conversation which continued above four hours, and was six times interrupted by fervent prayers. This casuistical office proved a fine cure after that conference, for his majesty's disorder abated the next day; and his scruples disappearing with the first amendment, he never chose to renew the conversation on that subject *.

THE surrender of the town of La Fere †, determined D'Aubigné to return to his friends, and give his best services to his brethren in the assembly of the churches, which was at different times held at Vendome, Saumur, Loudun and Chartelleraud. He was on all occasions chosen with two or three more to defend boldly the interests of the reformed, in discussions with the king's deputies; which necessarily exposed him to give new causes of offence to the king. A.D. 1596.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 101.

† De Thou, tom. viii. liv. 116. p. 770. Cayet, tom. iii. liv. 8. p. 613.

Henry

Henry wiſhed the huguenots to reſign the towns formerly aſſigned them as places of ſecurity, though not very formidable at that time to him; for as he maintained the garriſons placed in them, they were under his influence; yet being attached by their religion to the huguenots, they appeared of ſome conſequence to the party, who therefore refuſed to reſign them. In a diſpute on this ſubject, monſieur de Freſne Canaye, one of the king's deputies, though a huguenot, having ſpoken of the ſovereign power with all the pomp of language he was maſter of, and with ſome contempt of the huguenots; D'Aubigné, perceiving that his aſſociates who ſpoke before him, were awed into lowering their tone, aſſumed more than common ſpirit, and expreſſed himſelf in higher, and in ſtronger terms; which ſo much offended Monſieur de Freſne-Canaye, that he interrupted him in the midſt of his diſcourſe by exclaiming, "Is it thus you treat the good of "the nation and his majeſty's ſervice?" D'Aubigné, provoked by the interruption, replied, "Who are you who profeſs teaching us our "duty to the king? We were grown old in the "practice before you applied yourſelf to the "ſtudy of it. Do you want to advance your "fortune by ſuppoſing a diſtinction between the "king's ſervice, and the ſervice of God, and "making them claſh againſt each other? Learn "to obſerve a proper ſilence, and do not inter- "rupt thoſe who have a right to ſpeak in this "aſſembly." A very warm altercation enſued; the duke de Bouillon thinking D'Aubigné too warm, told him ſome reſpect ought to be ſhewn to a magiſtrate of ſo much diſtinction as monſieur de Freſne Canaye. "Yes," replied D'Aubigné, "the man no doubt deſerves reſpect who "will

"will apostatize in three months." A prediction which was soon fulfilled by Du Fresne Canaye's conversion. This man, grievously offended with D'Aubigné, did him the worst offices in his power when he returned to court; where all the contention that had passed, and all the obstruction the king's desires met with in the assembly, were laid to the charge of D'Aubigné; who acquired thereby among his friends the name of the Scape Goat *, as bearing the iniquities of the whole party †.

A.D. 1597. The Spaniards surprize Amiens.

During the course of these deliberations, the Spaniards surprised Amiens ‡; a place of so great importance, that the king was impatient to wrest it out of their hands: and as soon as he could gather his forces together laid siege to it; an enterprize for which he was but indifferently prepared. Some of the huguenots advised that advantage should be taken of the difficulties he was under in prosecuting the siege, to obtain better terms than might be granted them when he did not stand in need of their assistance. They believed, or pretended to believe, that Henry was more disposed to gratify them than he chose should appear, and that by their pressing importunities they should afford him an excuse for complying with their demands, which might serve to pacify the catholics; and enable him to treat his old friends with the indulgence he wished, without offending the rest of his subjects §. If this were their real opinion,

* Boue du Desert. † Ibid. p. 103.
‡ Dav. lib. 15. p. 1032. De Thou, tom. ix. p. 81. Cayet, tom. iii. liv. 9. p. 668. Hist. du Duc de Boull. liv. 5. p. 214. § Ibid. p. 215.

they founded it rather on the consideration they thought due to them, than on any disposition he shewed to favour them; but it is more probable, that according to a fallacy frequently made use of by subjects who are engaged in contentions with their prince, they endeavoured under the colour of that persuasion, to lessen the charge of disloyalty, which the catholics, and such of the huguenots as were more attached to their pecuniary interests than to their religion, brought against them.

Of all the party no one was more generally accused of disaffection to the king than D'Aubigné. The warmth of his zeal, his invincible spirit, the blunt sincerity with which he always spake, must necessarily lead him to offend a prince whose wishes he was vigorously opposing. He had a rough soldier-like eloquence, which flowed with too much rapidity to suffer him to weigh his expressions; nor possibly had he a wish to correct it: actuated solely by what he thought his first duty, a firm attachment to his religion, conscious integrity was his support; and superior to all the temptations of interest, he could neither be intimidated by danger, nor seduced by hopes of reward; he therefore had no desire to soften and polish his expressions by the model of court language; but thought that upright intentions were best expressed in plain words; and uttered his sentiments as frankly in a full assembly as in confidential discourse with a private friend. At a time when the party was sunk into the most depressed state of mind, by the disappointment of all their most flattering hopes, built on the expectation of seeing a huguenot prince on the throne, the timorous, the desponding,

ſponding, and the mercenary were equally ſilent. Of thoſe who had ſpirit and integrity, many had not the talent of ſpeaking; it was not ſtrange therefore that D'Aubigné ſhould be conſtantly called upon, when thoſe rights were diſputed which he was as capable of aſſerting in council, as of defending in the field. In the execution of the office thus aſſigned him, he did not leſs aim at rouſing the ſpirits of his aſſociates, than at impreſſing forcibly on his adverſaries the truths he uttered. He did not conceal his little confidence in the king's word; openly declaring he did not believe that the prince who had ſacrificed his own religion to his ambition, would be very tender of forcing the conſciences of others; nor that after having ſubmitted to ſo many diſagreeable things to gain the good will of the catholics, he would hazard the loſing of their favour by ſhewing any great indulgence to the huguenots. Expreſſions to this effect were reported to Henry; and it may be eaſily believed that ſo open an oppoſition, was the cauſe of laying to his charge every warm ſpeech, or bold action, that eſcaped any of the party: if the perſon was not known, the fact was immediately imputed to D'Aubigné; if known, then he acted by the inſtigation of D'Aubigné; who, if the endeavours the reformed uſed to obtain the toleration of their religion, and a fixed eſtabliſhment, and the ſuſpicions they ſhewed of the king's backwardneſs to grant either, were criminal, had certainly guilt enough of his own to anſwer for; as it cannot be denied but he was one of the moſt active of the party. The friendſhip which ſubſiſted between him and the dukes de Bouillon, de Rohan, and more eſpecially Claude de la Tremouille, duke de Thouars, who were known

to be disaffected, rendered him still more obnoxious.

The duke de Thouars gave a strong proof of his fidelity to his party at one of the conferences held at Saumur, between the deputies of the churches, and the king's deputies. Those of the churches were the duke de Thouars, D'Aubigné, Le Plessis Mornay, and Chamier, one of their ministers. The king's were messieurs de Schomberg, de Villeroi, de Calignon, and the President de Thou *. Messieurs de Schomberg and de Thou coming to the place appointed before their associates, invited the duke de Thouars to take a walk with them, when Monsieur de Thou thus addressed him; "You have too "much good sense not to perceive by the present state of affairs, and the concessions we "have made you, that you can gain no greater "advantages by delaying the agreement. Are "we so very low in your esteem that you will put "no confidence in us; nor believe the assurances "we give you that nothing more will be granted "you? Monsieur de Schomberg is a Lutheran, "consequently not far from a good huguenot. "As for me, you have reason to know how "affectionately I am disposed towards you; for "these two hundred years the youth of your "family have all had tutors out of mine. Receive what we are going to say to you as "the words of a friend. The king has been "informed that you have sent for your cousin "the duke de Bouillon to confirm the articles "of agreement, and believes that your respect "for the duke, and the gentleness of your

* Hist. du duc de Bouill. liv. 5. p. 219.

"nature, will induce you to permit him to "appropriate the honourable fruits of your two "years labour. We do not pretend to deny "that the king is greatly offended with you "both, but not in an equal degree; he there- "fore wiſhes, to owe to you the obligation of "extinguiſhing the preſent diſcontents of your "party; but ſhould the duke de Bouillon take "the lead, you muſt loſe all claim to his ma- "jeſty's gratitude. Let us conclude the affair "on the terms now propoſed; and we are em- "powered to offer, that you ſhall chuſe from "among your moſt confidential adherents, ten "camp maſters, and two marſhals of the camp; "to each of the firſt the king will give a thou- "ſand crowns; to the others three thouſand "crowns yearly, to be paid by you; and to "yourſelf the remainder of a hundred thouſand "francs, to which ſum amounts the tax on the "river Charente paid near your caſtle of Taille- "bourg; and to prevent your having the trou- "ble of ſolicitation or demand, you ſhall have "an aſſignment of that tax for thirty years. You "may at once ſee the greatneſs of the offer, "and the facility and ſecurity of the perfor- "mance of it; and confeſs that, your own "intereſt out of the queſtion, this conceſſion is "of greater advantage to your party than ten "ſtrong cautionary towns."

The duke replied, "When I conſider, gen- "tlemen, how deeply you have lately been "engaged in negotiations with the chiefs of the "league, where you found each man ſo entirely "attached to his private intereſts, that by ſepa- "rately gratifying the avarice or ambition of the "individuals, you have entirely extinguiſhed the

"faction; when I consider this, I say, I cannot "but forgive your mean opinion of me: but to "shew you our party is not actuated by such "motives, permit me to tell you, that if you "would give me half this kingdom, yet refuse "to the poor people here assembled the necessary "means of serving God with freedom and safety, "it would be no temptation to me; but grant "them privileges so just and necessary, and you "may hang me up at the door of the assembly; "nor would it create any disturbance; you "would find every one quiet and submissive." —After the conversation was over, monsieur de Thou related this conversation to D'Aubigné, and asked him if they had many such huguenots in their party *.

THE conferences continued during the siege of Amiens, and it was not till after that town was taken that the articles could be settled; which were at length signed by the king at Nantes, and the edict published, which took its name from that town †. The principal articles were, liberty of conscience for the huguenots throughout the kingdom; but without the public exercise of their religion, except in such places as were specified, and not within the walls of any town, but those they called their towns of surety, most of them beyond the Loire, and in Dauphiné; and this on condition that the catholic religion should be re-established in all those places where it had been abolished. The huguenots

1598. April. Edict of Nantz.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 455.
† De Thou, tom. ix. p. 154. Hist. de Henry duc de Bouillon, p. 221. Cayet, tom. iii. p. 714. Esprit de la Ligue, tom. iii. p. 312.

were

were declared capable of employments and honours; and the courts of juſtice compoſed of an equal number of huguenots and catholics, formerly granted, were confirmed. The huguenots obliged themſelves to forbear all foreign alliances; to diſſolve all their aſſemblies, to hold no others, except on ſuch occaſions as were ſpecified in the edict, and to appear there unarmed. They were forbidden to publiſh or ſell any books treating of their religion, except in thoſe towns where the public exerciſe of it was permitted.

Messieurs Schomberg and de Thou, in the terms they had ſettled with the deputies of the aſſembly before mentioned, had granted the huguenots full liberty to convene aſſemblies whenever they thought proper; a conceſſion which gave great offence to the catholics, and expoſed them to ſome reprehenſion from the king, who ſtruck out that article, and ſubſtituted one to a contrary effect *. This edict differed little from thoſe formerly given in favor of the huguenots. The article which regarded their admiſſion into poſts of government was of little benefit, ſince it only declared them capable of receiving, but left the king power to refuſe to give; and that ſuch was his intention, appears by his ſpeech to the parliament of Paris, who at firſt refuſed to regiſter the edict: for, if we may believe Pere Daniel, he therein tells them, that while a huguenot he gave no places of public truſt to any but catholics, and intended to continue the ſame rule, therefore they had no cauſe to be offended at that article †.

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 693. † Ibid. p. 698.

 But

But monsieur de Thou, with more probability, mentions this determination as only declared in council. But wherever the declaration was made, it could not easily fail of coming to the knowledge of the huguenots, whom it offended, not only as disappointing their hopes of preferment, but as it shewed a duplicity in the king's proceedings, and lessened their confidence in his word *. The writers who have endeavoured to justify Louis XIV's revocation of the edict of Nantz, urge that the huguenots acted unfairly, and gained it rather by force than justice; taking advantage of the distressed state of Henry's affairs; and extorting it from him when the difficulties attending the siege of Amiens rendered him unable to hazard the consequences of exasperating them by a refusal. But when they make this assertion they designedly confound times, and omit the evidence of the king's word, who would not sign the articles till he was possessed of Amiens, and had made peace with the duke de Mercœur, the only one of the leaguers who had not before that time submitted to him. When Henry signed, he declared he had delayed coming to an agreement with the huguenots till all his enemies were subdued, that they might know he granted their demands from favor, not from necessity; from gratitude for the benefits he had received, not from the fear of any harm they might hereafter do him †. It is true, that the terms of agreement had been disputed during the siege of Amiens, and long before it began; but so far were they from being adjusted, that when they were presented to him at Nantz, he

* De Thou, tom. ix. p. 279.

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii, p. 460.

expunged

expunged ſome very important articles, and ſeverely reproved meſſieurs de Thou and de Schomberg for having permitted them to be inſerted *. The peace with Spain was alſo then ſo far advanced, that the treaty was ſigned the 2d of May following †; which confirms the truth of the king's declaration, of having delayed to grant thoſe conceſſions till they could not be attributed to fear, for in reality he was then certain of making peace with all his enemies. When this fact is ſo evident, it would be impoſſible not to wonder at Pere Daniel, and others, who exclaim againſt the edict as extorted from the king when under the greateſt diſtreſs, and therefore deſerving to be conſidered as a forced treaty, never juſtly binding, were it not for the recollection that they wrote in the time of the prince who revoked it. May 2. Peace made with Spain.

HENRY now began to enjoy the bleſſings of peace, and felt true pleaſure in power, by employing it in quieting his kingdom, and reſtoring juſtice and order, which had ſo long been baniſhed by faction. Few princes like him have found the throne an aſylum from cares and fatigue, becauſe few have paſſed the preceding part of life in ſo continued a ſeries of labour, diſtreſs, and anxiety: but even to him it afforded only comparative reſt; when the paſt and the preſent were brought into the ſame point of view, his life, after he was generally acknowledged king of France, appeared eaſy and quiet; but he was not free from the evils which attend a crown. A.D. 1599. Biron's conſpiracy.

* Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 693.

† De Thou, tom. ix. p. 156. Dav. lib. 15. p. 1054. Cayet, tom. iii. p. 714.

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He well knew that ſome ambitious men had entered into cabals againſt him, and thoſe men of great power, though few in number; even marſhal Biron, a man highly favored and preferred by him, was at the he d of them. The dukes de Bouillon, de Tremouille, and the count d'Auvergne, were concerned in thoſe ſecret practices. The king had alſo ſome contention with the duke of Savoy about the marquiſate of Saluſſes; but the military operations were not great. In the courſe of the negotiation the duke of Savoy came to Paris, in hopes of ſucceeding better in perſon than by the intervention of ambaſſadors *. But it was not till the year following that the treaty was ratified, whereby the marquiſate of Saluſſes was ceded to the duke of Savoy, who relinquiſhed ſome other places in exchange †. Before this affair was compleated, the king had the ſatisfaction of getting his marriage with Margaret of Valois, daughter to Henry II. diſſolved ‡; to which ſhe could not be induced to conſent till after the death of the duchess of Beaufort, whom ſhe had learnt the king deſigned for her ſucceſſor; which her pride could ill brook.

Diſſolution of the king's marriage.

A. D. 1599.

Henry's grief for the loſs of his miſtreſs, whoſe death was extremely ſudden, had been immoderate for a few days, when the charms of Henriette d'Entragues, afterwards created marchioneſs de Verneuil, adminiſtered ſpeedy conſolation, by exciting a new paſſion in his moſt ſuſceptible heart ‖; and a little retarded the com-

A. D. 1600. November. Marries Mary de Medicis.

* De Thou, tom. ix. p. 319.
† Ibid. p. 325.
‡ De Thou, tom. vi. p. 318.
‖ Memoires de Baſſompiere, tom. i. p. 55.

pletion

pletion of his marriage with Mary de Medicis, niece to the duke of Florence. Before his own nuptials were celebrated, he had married his ſiſter Catherine, who had been ſought by almoſt all the princes in Europe, and ſome of the firſt nobility in France, to the duke of Bar *.

During the time that intervened between the marriage of the ducheſs of Bar, and the celebration of the king's nuptials, Du Pleſſis Mornay was engaged in a diſpute with the biſhop d'Evreux, concerning a treatiſe written by Du Pleſſis to expoſe the abuſes of the maſs. The controverſy was at firſt carried on by the pen; but at length the king appointed a conference between them, at which his majeſty, the court, and many others were preſent. The point in diſpute was reduced to one article, the truth of the quotations made in the treatiſe from the fathers, which the biſhop denied; for it was not judged prudent to allow a public diſcuſſion of the points of doctrine therein contained. The reſult of this conference is ſo differently repreſented by the catholic and huguenot writers, that it is difficult to give any certain account of it. The catholics claimed the honour of the day; and there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that appearances, at leaſt, were on their ſide, ſince their adverſaries do not ſo much aſſert the contrary, as complain of the unfair treatment given to Du Pleſſis, as being taken unprovided,—allowed the uſe of but few of the authors quoted,—and not ſufficient time even to ſeek out in them the paſſages objected to;—the arts uſed even by the king to that purpoſe,—and

* De Thou, tom. ix. p. 270. Hiſt. de H. D. de Bouill. p. 222.

the

the warmth with which that prince took part with the bishop, and thereby prejudiced the courtiers in his favor. Thus far they all agree, that in the ensuing night, Du Plessis was taken so dangerously ill, that the conference could not be continued, nor was it ever after resumed. He and his friends attribute his sickness to the great shock he received at the king's unkind treatment, after the numerous and important services he had rendered him, and the faithful attachment which all the actions of his life had evinced *.

D'Aubigné engaged in a dispute with the bishop d'Evreux.

ALTHOUGH D'Aubigné, during the transactions briefly related, had frequently been at court, and particularly was often present in parties of amusement with the king and the duke of Savoy †, yet he was not there at the time of the controversy between Du Plessis and the bishop D'Evreux; but coming to Paris a fortnight after it was over, the king insisted on his engaging the bishop. They disputed the controverted points during five hours in the presence of above four hundred persons of rank. The bishop endeavoured by long and laboured speeches to remove the difficulties which D'Aubigné proposed to him; after which D'Aubigné, who was not accustomed to speak in a stile so diffuse and vague, drew up a regular demonstration in form, deducing the two first propositions from the very terms of the bishop's arguments. So concise a method embarrassed the prelate; and threw him into such violent agitation of spirits, that large drops of sweat fell on a manuscript St. Chry-

* Vie de du Plessis Mornay, p. 273. De Thou, tom. ix. p. 329.

† Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 467.

sostome

fostome which he held in his hand, and that in such abundance as to be observed by the whole assembly. The dispute was at last terminated by this syllogism, "Whoever is guilty of falshood in "the disquisition of any subject cannot be ac-"knowledged a competent judge in a discussion "of that subject; the fathers are often guilty of "falshood in their controversial writings, there-"fore they cannot be competent judges in contro-"versy." The bishop allowed the major, but required the minor to be proved; and for that purpose D'Aubigné composed a treatise, entitled, "Diffidiis Patrum," of which the prelate did not chuse to attempt a refutation, though the king had given his word that he should answer it*.

THE following year produced more disagreeable interruptions to the king's peace than these polemical disputes: the suspicions for some time entertained of marshal Biron's disloyalty daily increased, and were at length converted into certainty, by the depositions of the man employed in his negotiations with the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and others, who were engaged to assist him in the design he had formed of seizing part of the kingdom, and erecting it into a separate royalty, under the protection of Spain †. The dukes de Bouillon and de Tremouille were suspected of concurring in his views; the former appears, especially, to have been justly charged with some participation in the conspiracy. The marshal was desirous of gaining the huguenots over to his party; and the duke de Bouillon, either in concert with him, (Biron's conspiracy.)

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 107.
† Hist. de Henry duc de Bouillon, p. 225.

or weakly wrought on by the means he had used to alarm him with dangers that threatened the reformed, secretly called together nine of the most considerable of the party; and after some polite apologies for the trouble he had given them by his summons, and returning thanks for their compliance with it, he thus addressed them:

The duke de Bouillon's proposal to the huguenot chiefs.

"THE reason, gentlemen, of my desiring "your presence, was to make known to you "the means by which God preserves his people "in the midst of so many dangers, and makes the "swords of the wicked defend his cause. It is "now six months since I was first solicited on "a business to which for some time I would not "listen; but on reflecting that not I alone was "concerned, I would not determine from my private judgement on an affair of so extensive "importance. Many causes of discontent, and "the various interests of several men, have "given rise to an union among some of the "most powerful in the kingdom, in order to "effect a change, and redress the grievances "they complain of. These people, under pretence of negotiating a marriage, have applied "to me several times, but within these few days "have been more explicit, declaring themselves "in the following terms:

"THAT the association they propose is not a "weak one, but composed of sovereign powers; "—princes of the blood royal of France;—— "of others of equal rank;—officers of the "crown;—governors of provinces;——many "provincial parliaments;—and some communities of the principal cities in the kingdom; "in conjunction with whom it would be no dif-

"grace to perish. That those princes who were "members of the league, some of them animated by external causes, others by the king's "ingratitude, behold with horror his neglect of "the reformed, to whom all attribute the honour of having saved the state; however harsh "and unworthy the treatment which they received, even while they were sacrificing their "fortunes, and exposing their lives, in support "of those who refused them the blessings of "peace.

"THAT the reformed ought not to be ignorant that at the time peace was made with "Savoy, before the departure of the legat, an "engagement was formed and signed by the "king,—the patriarch d'Arconas,—the ambassadors of Spain and the Empire,—and some "officers of the crown of France,—whereby "they united in an association in the form of a "crusade, to exterminate the huguenots;—— "that the time for the execution of their enterprize, and the sums of money and number of "men which each should furnish, were specified; and they bound themselves to continue "this war till the huguenots were totally extirpated.—That the legat took the oaths of all "present, for the full performance of the engagement,—gave them the sacrament, and pronounced the severest anathema against any "person who should violate this obligation.

"THAT if the reformed wish to join in revenging such atrocious perfidy, and in defending "themselves against the imminent dangers which "threaten them, they are to understand, that "as there were two original draughts of this

"asso-

"association against them, with the signs manual "of the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, "and the duke of Savoy affixed thereto, on con-"dition that one should be deposited in the "king's hands the other in those of the duke "of Savoy, his highness will deliver to them "the authentic draught; that the reformed, "who always begin their deliberations by exa-"mining how far the things proposed are just, "may be fully satisfied of the justice of their "proceedings.

"That the confederates will leave to them "the part of France west of the Loire, as far as "Livron, and the rest of Dauphiné; from "whence they may extend their conquests, with-"out the catholic associates having any preten-"sions to interfere; while the reformed keep "within those limits.

"That the reformed may chuse out two of "the greatest and most important cities in their "department, the government of which the "catholics will purchase; exclusive of two hun-"dred thousand crowns, to be paid by them "towards equipping the troops, and the like "sum yearly for the expences of the war during "its continuance.

"And lest the reformed should fear that in "a future treaty their interests may be neglected, "the catholics will engage not to listen to any "accommodation without the concurrence of "the reformed; and for their further security, "the towns of Lion and Dijon shall be deli-"vered into their hands, to be detained by them,

" if they are not perfectly ſatisfied with the
" terms of the peace."

" These, gentlemen, are the offers made to
" you, of which I cannot ſpeak my opinion till
" I have heard yours."

The duke de Bouillon then applied to D'Aubigné to declare his ſentiments; which he would have declined till others had ſpoken, alledging that he was the youngeſt of the company; but being ſolicited by all preſent he obeyed, to the following effect:

" The propoſal under conſideration, gentle- D'Aubigné's anſwer.
" men, obliges us to diſcuſs theſe three points;
" —By whom it is made,—who we are,—and
" what is offered to us. Of thoſe who apply
" to us, ſome are ambitious courtiers, ſome are
" ſtrangers: among the firſt it would be dif-
" ficult to name one whoſe ill will towards us
" has not been ſhewn by flagrant injuries. The
" moſt violent ſolicitors of our ruin, would now
" preſerve us from deſtruction out of an exceſs
" of charity, for which they know not, nor
" can we gueſs, the reaſon. The men who
" drove the king from our church, and forced
" him to go to maſs, are thoſe who have formed
" this confederacy; the chief of them is mar-
" ſhal Biron, of whoſe motives you may judge
" from hence, that bred up by a mother of our
" religious perſuaſion, and by a father who was
" an enemy to bigotry, he approached much
" nearer the licentiouſneſs of an atheiſt than the
" ſuperſtitions of a monk, till he entered into
" certain connections in Italy; ſince which time
" he has ſo ſignalized himſelf in what the papiſts

"term devotional exercifes, that when he is "travelling, if he fees at a confiderable diftance "from his road a village-crofs, however bat-"tered and broken, he alights from his horfe, "and creeps on his knees to kifs the very pedef-"tal on which it is erected. From this man "you may form fome judgement of the whole "fet; and difcern an affociation of enemies to "our liberty, and of traitors to their country "and their king, whofe numerous favours they "repay with the *blackeft* ingratitude. It is "unneceffary to enter into the characters of the "other members of the confederacy, the ftran-"gers; for you will naturally feel a horror at "the thoughts of joining interefts with the duke "of *Savoy* and the king of Spain, who appear "openly in the affair; and with the emperor "and the pope, who are the fecret abbettors.

"We are a fect feparated from fuch people "not by inequality of birth, difference of com-"plexion, nor any local diftinctions, but by "purity of faith, fimplicity of manners, and "fuch integrity of mind that we joyfully facri-"fice our poffeffions, and even our lives to the "fervice of God. How can fuch oppofites be "reconciled? how can fuch contrarieties be "made to agree? The partition between us "can be broken down only to our difadvan-"tage, for on our part it is compofed folely of "difference in doctrine and manners; but on "theirs it is fortified againft our humility by "worldly wealth, by power, by the firft offices "in the ftate, and by the fplendor and autho-"rity which the court of Rome fheds on thofe "it favours: were we therefore to embark on "a tempeftuous fea with fuch affociates, our

"fate

" fate muſt prove like that of the earthen veſſel
" in the fable, who choſe one of iron for its
" companion.

" So much for the perſons under conſideration; proceed we now to the matter propoſed to us. What is it, but that for fear diſturbances ſhould ariſe in the kingdom, we ſhould begin to raiſe them? as if from an apprehenſion of being wetted by rain, it were adviſeable to jump into a river; and to thoſe who may cauſeleſsly ſeek our deſtruction, we ſhould give juſt cauſe to deſtroy us. They would have us fly from the hands of the king into the gripe of theſe petty tyrants; bring down upon us the curſes of all our catholic countrymen, and ſow diviſion, and total ſeparation among ourſelves; as few of our brethren would concur in ſuch meaſures, formed on a ſuppoſed deſign to ruin us, of which we cannot aſcertain either the truth or falſehood. But grant it true, there is nothing new to us in this evil intention, except the perſon of the king, whom none of us can ſuſpect of entering willingly into ſo unjuſt and cruel a conſpiracy. I acknowledge that he does not now tell us, as formerly, that he is contented to become Anathema for us, like Moſes and St. Paul for their brethren; I confeſs alſo that he is become inſenſible to the ſhame of apoſtacy; but this ariſes from his ſenſibility to the danger of being aſſaſſinated, and of the unſettled ſtate of his, yet but half eſtabliſhed, authority, which he has ſaid could not ſubſiſt if the malecontents were not awed by their fears of the huguenots; an opinion which he does not appear to have relinquiſhed. I will

 " venture

" venture to affirm that if this conspiracy against
" us had been formed a month, he would not
" have suffered so long a time to have elapsed
" without transmitting to us some intimation of
" it. I dare equally assert, that were we to
" enter into this pernicious compact, it would
" not subsist a fortnight, before one of these
" traitors would discover it to the king, and
" for his private emolument betray his asso-
" ciates; thus would they, one by one, desert
" their party, and gain reward for their double
" treachery; while we should be oppressed by
" those with whom we had so lately allied our-
" selves, detested by our own party, and cover-
" ed with ignominy by the general consent of
" the whole French nation. Besides, what cer-
" tainty have you that they do not aim at
" seducing us into an iniquitous conspiracy, to
" render that just which they say is formed
" against us, by alledging in excuse for destroy-
" ing us, those measures into which they seduce
" us. I am sensible that discord among ou
" enemies is our best preservative; but let us
" enjoy the good effects as a mercy from heaven,
" without polluting our consciences with iniqui-
" tous and dangerous connexions. My advice
" therefore is, that we should leave them to
" work their own disgrace, without sharing it
" with them; and without involving ourselves
" in their crime, reap the advantage of their
" hopes in our assistance, while we keep clear
" of either written or verbal engagement, by
" alledging the slowness of proceeding in so
" large a body, as much time must necessarily
" be required to disperse the requisite instruc-
" tions. It is also incumbent on us to con-
" sider how to act with honour in so critical a
" con-

"conjuncture; and while we evade the idle "curiosity of persons, who from some vague "information of this confederacy may endeavour "to gain a fuller knowledge of the affair, without any view of utility to the state; with "equal care prevent the dangers of a silence "which would render us criminal towards the "king."

The company were unanimous in their approbation of what D'Aubigné had said on the subject; the duke de Bouillon declared D'Aubigné had spoken his sentiments; and that the general concurrence therewith gave him a most sensible pleasure; but that the use to be made of his advice required some discussion, and it was necessary they should carefully consider how to avoid the two dangers suggested by D'Aubigné at the conclusion of his discourse, that they might neither fail in decent regard to those who had applied to them, nor in the fidelity due to their sovereign; and the better to prevent either evil, it should seem proper to keep themselves prepared to obviate every ill effect that might arise from the conspiracy, without too readily taking fire at any offensive discourses.

The assembly then came to a resolution that one of them, named Odevous, should repair to Lyons, to communicate the general determination to a principal person of their party, who was then with the king; and to desire him to act according to the suggestions of his prudence, in such a manner as should at the same time best preserve their honour to the persons in question, and their fidelity to the state *.

* Hist. Univ. D'Aub. tom. iii. p. 491.

A.D. 1602.

If the duke de Bouillon forbore to enter more deeply into the conſpiracy formed by the marſhal de Biron, yet by liſtening to the propoſals he had communicated to his friends he gave ſufficient grounds to be ſuſpected of a concurrence in the whole affair; and when the marſhal was taken into cuſtody on the depoſition of la Fin, his principal agent, who diſcovered the whole to the king, the duke de Bouillon was ſummoned to court *. The king, who had laviſhed his favours on the marſhal, and pardoned his treaſonable practices, on his confeſſing them, when he firſt entered into this conſpiracy, again offered his forgiveneſs if he would frankly acknowledge his offence; but the marſhal, believing there was no proof againſt him, and that the king proceeded only on ſuſpicion, perſiſted in denying his having reſumed the deſigns which on his majeſty's former pardon he had laid aſide, and treated as an injury his being urged to confeſſion; till Henry's clemency, and regard for him, gave way to juſtice, and after a legal conviction he was beheaded †. The duke de Bouillon, though poſſibly not deeply concerned in the affair, at leaſt wanted the ſupport of conſcious innocence, and inſtead of repairing to court, retired to Geneva; and from thence to the court of the elector Palatine, whoſe wife was ſiſter of the ducheſs de Bouillon, both being daughters to the prince of Orange ‡.

Biron executed.

The duke de Bouillon retires into the Palatinate.

Claude de la Tremouille duke de Thouars had married a third daughter of that prince's,

* Hiſt. de Henry duc de Bouillon, p. 229.
† De Thou, tom. ix. p. 546.
‡ Hiſt. de H. duc de Bouillon, p. 232.

which

which forming a strict connexion between him and the duke de Bouillon, rendered him suspected by the king, who was before greatly prejudiced against him, not only on account of his strict adherence to the reformed religion, and the warmth with which he espoused the interests of those who professed it, but for a much slighter cause, though one which frequently gives rise to greater enmity than offences more important. He had the misfortune either to have wit, or to think he had it, without discretion to curb its sallies. He was unguarded in his expressions; and the things he uttered in mirth were frequently repeated to the king with the most malicious constructions, and produced in time a fixed hatred to the duke *, who found that a bon mot was more difficult to be forgiven than treason; a fact that many have experienced; though Henry ought to have had some indulgence for that kind of imprudence, being guilty of the same fault; which is in no one less excuseable than in a king. In a subject it is a failure in the respect due to his sovereign when he makes him the object of his levity; but in a prince it is an offence against both humanity and prudence; ridicule from his mouth wounds deeply, and is often severely resented. Henry's interests suffered more than once by an ill-timed jest, and on some other occasions he afflicted worthy men, for the poor gratification of uttering a trifling witticism.

The king's hatred to the duke de Tremouille.

THE king was at one time so exasperated against the duke de la Tremouille that he gave orders to have him invested in Thouars. The

* De Thou, tom. ix. p. 688.

duke was not prepared for defence, but in this extremity wrote to D'Aubigné: "My friend, "I invite you, according to your engagement, "to come and die with your affectionate, &c."

D'Aubigné returned for anſwer,

"Your letter, ſir, ſhall be punctually obeyed; "yet I have ſome right to complain of your "alledging my engagement to you, ſince my "oath ought to be conſidered as too inviolable, "to require that I ſhould be reminded of it."

He repaired with all ſpeed to Thouars; and they ſet out together to aſſemble their friends to their aſſiſtance. As they paſſed through a town where two days before ſome perſons had been beheaded, and ſome aſſaſſins were then expoſed on the wheel, D'Aubigné perceiving the duke change colour, took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Learn, ſir, to behold theſe melancholy objects "with equanimity; men who do what we ar "now doing ought to familiarize themſelves "with death *."

The king, however, did not carry matters to extremity; the ſtorm which threatened the duke

A. D. 1604. blew over; and death delivered Henry from a man he hated, and prevented the evils which

The duke's death. might have ſprung from that hatred. The duke died of the gout at thirty-four years of age, after having long been ſeverely afflicted with it.

His death was a great affliction to D'Aubigné, as in him he loſt a ſincere and powerful friend;

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 61.

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one whose invariable attachment to the reformed religion caused a close connexion between them, at a time when the greatest part of those who professed it, thought more of court favour than of the articles of their faith. But though deprived of so considerable an associate, D'Aubigné was still active in the cause.

By the edict of Nantes the huguenots were permitted to have two deputies near the king's person, one chosen by the clergy, the other by the laity, whom they might change every three years. The time for the new election approaching, they petitioned the king to allow them to convene a general assembly for that purpose; to which he consented, on condition that he should name the place of meeting, prescribe the matter and form of their deliberations, and depute one of his servants to represent his person. Chatelleraut was the town he appointed; and he sent the marquis de Rosni, afterwards duc de Sully, as his representative. A man peculiarly adapted to the office, not only by his zeal for his master's service, and his extraordinary capacity and spirit, but as his connexions with the most tractable of the party, and his acquaintance with the particular dispositions of the rest, gained by intimate intercourse when they were all united in Henry's service, gave him great influence over many, and made him know how best to work on others; besides that being governor of Poictou, he had there a real power added to the authority attending his representation of the king's person. The thing wished for by him and the king was that he might be chosen president of the assembly; but herein he was disappointed.

A.D. 1605.

Assembly of the reformed.

A PRO-

A PROVINCIAL synod was held in each province to chuse the deputies of which the general assembly was to be composed. The synod of Poictou met at St. Maixant, and chose messieurs D'Aubigné and La Noue, though both absent, for their representatives. D'Aubigné being informed of this nomination after the synod was broken up, went to Chatelleraut to excuse himself from the office, alledging that the usual forms in such nominations had not been observed, and that he was most unfit to transact the affairs thus committed to his care, since the unfavorable light in which he was beheld at court, would render all his proceedings so suspicious, that he should rather impede, than advance the business of the assembly. But so little attention was paid to his remonstrances, that instead of acquiescing in his plea of disqualification, he was deputed by the assembly to the marquis of Rosni, with their orders to him to forbear being present at their deliberations, except when he had some propositions to make to them from the king*: so very far were they from being disposed to chuse him for their president, that he had but two voices for him in the whole assembly.

THE time for which the cautionary towns were granted to the protestants drawing towards an end, they requested a prolongation of the term. As this demand was expected, and the king did not chuse to leave them a pretence for requiring another general assembly on that account, he had given de Rosni two brevets, one granting the towns for three, the other for four years longer;

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 61.

with liberty to use which he should find most proper. Of this the assembly was informed; but as de Rosni chose to treat them with imperious severity, he denied being possessed of them. Great disputes arose concerning the choice of the deputies to reside near the king, which the assembly asserted to belong wholly to them; but by much art, and more bribery, de Rosni prevailed so far, that they consented to nominate six persons, from whom *the king* should chuse the two who should be invested with that office.

The disputes about the cautionary towns ran very high. Though the king's treasury furnished de Rosni with weapons which D'Aubigné had not, and of which by his own account he made most liberal use, yet D'Aubigné took his measures so judiciously, that he formed a very strong opposition; De Rosni commanded him in the king's name to concur with him in the proposals he made; but so little did he prevail, that he found himself obliged to retire, after having delivered the brevet from the king, granting the reformed the possession of their towns for four years longer; though he had before denied being possessed of it *.

There was at that time great difficulties concerning the restoration of the town of Orange to the prince to whom it justly belonged. On the marriage of the prince of Orange with Eleanor de Bourbon, sister to the prince of Condé, the king had promised to restore it to him; but this was not easy to perform. That town having been conquered by the league, was put into the hands

Disputes concerning the town of Orange.

* Hist. Sec, D'Aub, p. 113. Vie de du Plessis M. p. 309.

hands of an officer who was little disposed to part with it, yet could not attempt to detain it forcibly. The affair was intricate, and the discussion difficult; the prince of Orange, monsieur de Lesdiguieres, and the churches of Languedoc and Dauphiné, having separate interests in it. A proposition was made to give commission to some person, to examine the whole affair minutely, and at leisure; and then to make an exact representation of it, that the various contrarieties might be adjusted; and D'Aubigné was fixed upon by the assembly for this employment. He desired three days for the examination; which being granted him, he retired instantly, and immediately began to sketch out a plan of accommodation; which he designed to draw up in proper form before he presented it; but reflecting that when he had given himself a great deal of trouble in reducing it into order, and writing it out with care, it most probably would not give satisfaction, he returned into the assembly, laid the rough draught before them, and received the satisfaction of having it on their examination entirely approved by them; the assembly altering only one syllable in the whole performance; and regulating the affair on his plan †.

Settled by D'Aubigné.

D'AUBIGNE' was conscious that his conduct in this assembly was not proper to restore him to the king's favor; on the contrary, he could not suppose but he was become more obnoxious than before; and the duke de la Tremouille's death rendered the province of Poictou no longer a safe retreat for him; for the rest of the huguenot nobility having become pensioners to the court,

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 112.

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he ſaw no one left for whoſe aſſiſtance he could hope if he were attacked, and he knew himſelf to be hated by the catholics. He therefore determined to leave the kingdom; and having prepared a veſſel for his conveyance, he put on board his moſt valuable effects; but as he was packing up his laſt cheſt, intending to embark immediately, a courier arrived with letters from the king, in terms as kindly familiar as he had formerly been accuſtomed to uſe towards him, and written with his own hand; from the duke de Bouillon, then reſtored to favor; and from the ſieur de la Varenne, he alſo received aſſurances that his preſence was much deſired at court; and that he might depend on a favorable reception there.

He prepares to quit France.

Is invited to court.

THIS invitation made him change his deſign, and repair to court; where under pretence of directing the preparations making for ſome tilts and tournaments, he remained two months, without the king's giving him any hint of paſt diſcontents; but one day as they were walking in a wood together, the king ſaid to him, "I have "not yet talked with you about thoſe aſſemblies "wherein you hoped to fruſtrate all my views; "you proceeded openly and boldly; but I had "gained over the moſt powerful among you to "my intereſts; there were but few of you who "laboured in the common cauſe; moſt of your "party ſought only their private advantage, and "to gain my favour at your expence: this is ſo "true that I can boaſt it coſt me only five hun-"dred crowns to prevail with one among you, a "man of one of the greateſt families in the "kingdom, to ſerve me in the capacity of a ſpy, "and to betray you. Oh! how often have I

Goes thither.

His diſcourſe with the king.

" ſaid

" said to myself, on seeing that you would not " conform to my inclinations, If my people " would but have heard my voice, &c."

After much conversation on this subject, D'Aubigné replied, " Sire, I was deputed by " the churches to those conferences, contrary to " my inclination; while others in vain solicited " the employment. I am little practised in " speaking my own praises; nor do I know how " to enter into explanations to my advantage. I " was well apprized that all our most consider- " able huguenots, except monsieur de la Tre- " mouille, were at your majesty's command; " but as the churches chose me for their advocate, " I thought myself obliged to serve them with " the more zeal, on account of the depression " they were under by having lost your protection; " and I had rather relinquish my country, or " even my life, than obtain your favour by be- " traying my brethren and friends: but whatever " may befall me, I shall always address my " ardent prayers to God for the continuance of " his favor and protection to you."

The king, not displeased with his sincerity, said to him, " Are you acquainted with the pre- " sident Jeannin?" (He was the person princi- pally employed in all negotiations by the league.) " I would have you cultivate an inti- " macy with him; I can place more confidence " in you and Jeannin, than in those who have " acted a double part."

The king then embraced D'Aubigné, and dismissed him; but he, moved by his master's kindness and confidence, before he had gone far re-

returned, and addressing him said, "Sire, when "I see your majesty, I cannot forbear resuming "my former freedom and boldness; open your "heart, Sire, and condescend to tell me what "could induce you to hate me." At this question the king turned pale, as he usually did when his affections were moved, and answered, "You were too much attached to La Tremou-"ille; you knew I hated him, and yet you con-"tinued to love him." "Sire," replied D'Aubigné, "I was bred up at your majesty's feet; "and there learnt in my early years not to aban-"don the unfortunate, who are oppressed by a "superior power; forgive then the effects of "that apprenticeship I served to virtue in my "attendance on you." The king again embraced him, and they parted with great cordiality*.

D'AUBIGNE' continued some time longer at court, with the same appearance of favor; and without receiving any more essential proofs of it returned into Poictou, perfectly relieved from his former apprehensions. But after having passed about a year there he went to Paris; and having alighted at the house of monsieur Dumoulin, where he found messieurs Chamier and Durand, with three or four other ministers of the reformed church; as soon as the first ceremonies of a friendly reception were over, they told him that the chief conversation of the town was an union of the different religions in France; which was spoken of in such terms of certainty, as gave them the greatest reason to believe that some of their principal ministers were bought over by the court, in order by a fraudulent controversy

Returns into Poictou.

A.D. 1607. Goes to Paris.

* Ibid. p. 110.

to

to give up the tenets of their church. To prevent the success of so treacherous a scheme, they determined to settle immediately among themselves some certain points, without which no union should be effected. D'Aubigné then asked them if they would support him in an offer he had imagined, as the ground-work whereon to proceed towards an agreement with the catholics, which was to reduce all the controversies between the different religions to the practice of the church, strictly observed, and regularly pursued, through the four first centuries, till the beginning of the fifth. They all readily agreed to his proposal *. With an intention to put this design in execution, D'Aubigné went to the king in his closet; who no sooner saw him, than without giving him time to speak, he ordered him to go to cardinal Du Perron. D'Aubigné obeyed, and was received by the cardinal with great marks of affection. His caresses were so new to D'Aubigné, that they convinced him of a fixed design to delude him; and when the cardinal had oppressed him with compliments and flattery, he proceeded to lament the wretched state of christianity; asking him if there was no means of restoring to it peace and harmony, and effecting a sincere agreement among christians, by reconciling the unhappy divisions with which the minds and families, not only in France, but through all Europe, were torn and distracted. After he had urged this point some time, and D'Aubigné had brought him to press warmly for his answer, D'Aubigné replied, "As you "desire me to speak my opinion plainly, per"mit me, sir, to say, that Guicciardin's maxim

Has a conference with cardinal Du Perron.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 113.

"appears

"appears to me as juſt in regard to the affairs "of the church, as to thoſe of a ſtate. He "ſays that when a ſociety, originally formed "on good laws, and wiſe inſtitutions, degene-"rates from its firſt order, there is no means "of reſtoring it to its priſtine perfection, but "in reducing it at once to its firſt form. Let "us therefore on each ſide acknowledge as "inviolable laws, the conſtitutions eſtabliſh-"ed and obſerved in the church till the end of "the fourth century; and in regard to thoſe "practices which are attacked as corruptions "and innovations gradually introduced ſince "that time, you who call yourſelves the eldeſt "born of the church ſhall begin with giving "up the firſt article which we ſhall point out to "you; we will next relinquiſh one on our "ſide; and thus alternately let us ſacrifice inno-"vations, till we have reſtored our worſhip to "its antient form."

The cardinal cried out, "Your miniſters "will not conſent to theſe terms." D'Aubigné replying that he would engage his life and honour to prevail with them to accept them; the cardinal, preſſing his hand, ſaid, "Give us how-"ever 40 years beyond the 400." "I plainly "perceive your view, ſir," anſwered D'Aubigné; "you wiſh to have the council of Chal-"cedon allowed of; and let us but begin to "work, in the manner I have propoſed, and I "will agree to your requeſt." "You will be "obliged then," ſaid the cardinal, "to conſent "to the elevation of the croſs; a practice then "generally received." "For ſo great a bleſ-"ſing as peace," replied D'Aubigné, "we will "agree to put it on the ſame footing it was

"then; but you dare not consent to reduce the "pope's authority to what it was during the four "first centuries; we might even afford to make "you a present of two hundred years more in "relation to that article." The cardinal, who had been very ill treated at Rome, and returned very much displeased with that court, raising his voice, said, "The affair must be settled "at Paris, it cannot possibly be concluded at "Rome." When this conference ended, D'Aubigné returned to the king, who as soon as he saw him, asked if he had seen cardinal du Perron, and what had passed between them. D'Aubigné recited the whole conversation, before a great number of persons present. "Why," said the king, "did you tell the cardinal you would "willingly grant him the council of Chalcedon, "when he should suffer the disquisition to com-"mence? why did you not allow it uncondi-"tionally?" "Sire," replied D'Aubigné, "if "besides the four hundred years specified, the "doctors of the Romish church were to require "forty more, it would be a tacite confession "that the practice of the four first centuries "was not on their side." This conclusion was too just not to give offence; some prelates and jesuits who were present, began to exclaim against him; and the count de Soissons loudly cried out, that, "such things should not be said before "the king." The general murmur of dissatisfaction obliged Henry to turn his back on D'Aubigné; and he retired into the queen's apartment *.

* Ibid. p. 116.

THE bigoted catholics in general, and D'Aubigné's enemies in particular, were very induſtrious in their endeavours to exaſperate the king againſt him; and accuſing him of having prevented an agreement between the churches, urged that he ought to be put to death, or at leaſt prevented by impriſonment from doing the like for the future; and ſo far did they prevail, that the king told the duke de Sully he muſt commit that ſower of ſedition to the Baſtile; and it would not be difficult to find ſufficient matter for his proſecution. The catholics offended with D'Aubigné. The king deſigns to ſend him to the Baſtile.

MADAME de Chatillon being informed of this intention, ſent for D'Aubigné, and having exacted a promiſe of ſecrecy, conjured him to leave the court that ſame night, or he might be aſſured his deſtruction was inevitable. Danger was become too habitual to D'Aubigné to excite any ſtrong apprehenſions in him; without the leaſt emotion he told her, that he would go and ſay his prayers, and then act as God ſhould ſuggeſt to him.

HE always choſe rather to face, than to fly danger; and had frequently experienced that to be the ſafeſt courſe. The reflexions of the night ſuggeſted to him that there remained no means for him to be uſeful to his country in public life, therefore a peaceful retirement was both lawful and eligible; and that by ſhewing a deſire to become more dependant on the king, he ſhould leſſen the ſuſpicions his majeſty had conceived of him, and at the ſame time render his own affairs more eaſy. He therefore went to the king very early in the morning, and after having made a brief recapitulation of his paſt ſervices, aſked him for a penſion, which he had Grants him a penſion.

 never

never done before. Henry, pleased to see so free a spirit stoop to mercenary views, embraced him, and granted his request, without hesitation, or delay *.

D'Aubigné going the next day to visit the duke de Sully at the arsenal, he carried him to see the Bastile, giving him his word that it was no longer a place of danger to him; but that his safety was only of twenty four hours standing.

The Sunday following, meeting madame de Chatillon at their place of worship, she carried him home with her to dinner, in company with Du Moulin their minister, and mademoiselle de Ruvigny, wife to the lieutenant of the Bastile. While they sat at table, madame de Chatillon, after expressing her surprize at D'Aubigné's having extricated himself so well out of the dangers that had threatened him, could not forbear lamenting his hard fate; which so sensibly touched mademoiselle de Ruvigny, that fixing her eyes upon him, she burst into tears; and being solicited to declare the cause of her emotion, she confessed that she had twice received orders to prepare a chamber for him; and that the second time she had expected him till midnight †.

The means D'Aubigné had taken to reconcile the king to him proved so effectual, that Henry restoring him to his former favour, kept him at court, and conceived a design of sending him to Vienna, as his ambassador extraordinary,

* Ibid. p. 117. † Ibid.

with orders to the envoys at the inferior Germanic courts to render him account twice in a year of their negotiations; but he altered his intention on forming that great plan of operations which was to begin with an attack on the king of Spain's dominions in Italy; and D'Aubigné having been informed by the king of his whole design, could not think, as he was vice admiral of the coasts of Poictou and Xaintonge, of remaining inactive, when so large a field for the exercise of his military talents lay open before him. He therefore urged the king to direct a small body of his forces towards Spain to attack the Spanish monarch in the heart of his country, while the more distant parts were assaulted on every side. Henry objecting a maxim grown into a proverb, that the enemy who enters into Spain weakly accompanied is sure to be beaten, and he who leads a great army thither as sure to be starved; D'Aubigné engaged, by means of a few men of war, to provide provisions for a French army in Spain, at the same price they bore at that time in Paris *.

The duke de Sully raised numerous objections to this proposal; but D'Aubigné removing them all, it was at length accepted; and he set out for the province of Xaintonge, to make the preparations requisite to enable him to fulfill his engagement. When he took leave of the king, Henry said to him, "D'Aubigné, do not "deceive yourself any longer; I am persuaded "that my temporal and spiritual life is in the "hands of the pope, whom I sincerely acknow-"ledge as Christ's vicar on earth."

* Ibid. p. 118.

"THIS fpeech," fays D'Aubigné, "made me "inftantly believe, that not only the great "defigns he had formed would vanifh away in "empty vapour, but that even his life was in "great danger, fince he trufted in a mortal man "for its prefervation." D'Aubigné communicated his apprehenfions to his moft intimate

A.D. 1610. May 14.

friends; and was fo fuperftitioufly perfuaded of the truth of what he had, as it were prophetically, once told to the king; that when the

The king affaffinated.

melancholy account of the deteftable affaffination of that monarch was firft brought him, with this circumftance of his being ftabbed in the throat, D'Aubigné in the prefence of many perfons replied, that "he was fure the blow was not given "in the throat, but in the heart *."

His character.

So fatal a cataftrophe involved all who loved their country in the deepeft affliction. Although Henry was guilty in a high degree of two vices very pernicious in a prince, incontinence and gaming, yet his virtues over-balanced them. He had reftored peace to a diftracted country; eftablifhed the laws in their full vigour; inriched his fubjects by the introduction of various manufactories; and won their hearts by his clemency, affability, and real attention to their happinefs; having employed the few years he lived after he became quiet poffeffor of the throne, in a ferious application to every means that could render the kingdom flourifhing, and his fubjects happy. Trufting to the real greatnefs of his mind, which had fhone with fplendor in his actions under all the various trials to which he had been expofed, he fought not by the pageantries of royalty to

* Ibid. p. 119.

dazzle

dazzle his people into respect; his title to it was more solid and more lasting; and he conversed with those who approached him with all the familiarity of friendship, relying on his own spirit and dignity for power to assume, and enforce, the authority of a king, whenever he found it necessary. Manners so engaging, gained him the affections even of those who thought themselves ill-treated by him, and who feared his being an enemy to their dearest interest. D'Aubigné was one of this number, and was a sincere mourner for the king's death. It is probable that he felt the loss more sensibly for being again restored to his favor; but independent of private views, there was sufficient cause for grief in the unavoidable anticipation of the evils that must arise from a long minority in his successor; which appeared the more lamentable, from the comparison the mind would naturally draw between them and the blessings of a reign so beneficial to France as that of Henry IV.

His passion for the princess of Condé.

THE war Henry was going to commence had been determined on political motives, but his preparations were hastened by his disappointment in that passion which had so often obscured his glory, and was always too strong for his reason. The object was mademoiselle de Montmorenci; between whom and monsieur de Basompierre a mutual affection subsisted; and Henry's consent to their union had been obtained; but becoming the rival of Basompierre, he prevailed with him, by the influence which a prince may always have over an ambitious courtier, to relinquish his pretensions; and Henry married her to the prince of Condé; who being entirely given up to hunting, and conversant in nothing but dogs and horses,

horses, he thought unlikely to gain her affections, or to make very nice observations on her actions *. He considered her union with a man he believed she could not like as favorable to his designs; but if in this opinion he was not mistaken, he was greatly deceived in that which he had entertained of the prince, who shewed so much resentment on discovering the king's passion for the princess, that his majesty, as a punishment for what he termed his insolence, withdrew the pension he allowed him, and refused to pay the money he had promised him on his marriage †. The prince, enraged to find that his just sense of one injury had provoked the king to injure him still farther, carried the princess privately from court, and leaving the kingdom with all possible speed, took refuge in the dominions of the king of Spain ‡.

May 12. This may justly be considered as the most criminal, and most dishonourable action in Henry's life: the fire of youth, though it can never excuse a crime, may be urged as some palliation, but Henry had no longer this to plead, for he was fifty-seven years of age when he died §; and every circumstance through the whole proceeding was of so black a dye, that it must remain an indelible stain on his memory. Henry had delayed setting out on his expedition from complaisance to the queen, who was extremely urgent to be crowned; which was performed on the 12th day of May, and Sunday the 16th was appointed for her magnificent entry into Paris;

* Mem. de Basomp. tom. i. p. 187.

† Mezeray, tom. iii. p. 1440.

‡ Oecon. roy. &c. de Sully, tom. x. p. 477. De Thou, tom. x. p. 281. Pere Dan. tom. vi. p. 362.

§ Abregé de l'histoire de France, par Henault, tom. ii. p. 551.

but

but on the preceding Friday the king was ſtabbed in his coach by the deteſtable Ravillac, whoſe blow was ſo fatally aimed, that piercing the king's heart, he died on the ſpot *.

The queen declared regent.

THE day after this fatal event the queen mother was declared regent during the minority of the young king her ſon, by the parliament of Paris, which arrogated on this occaſion a power beyond what it could legally claim; but the univerſal apprehenſion of the troubles that might ariſe from an unſettled government, and the confuſion which a contention for the regency would cauſe, if by an immediate ſtretch of authority it was not prevented, induced the nation to ſubmit to the encroachment. The count de Soiſſons, indeed, proteſted againſt it, and aſſerted his right to the regency, as being the firſt prince of the blood then in the kingdom; but as he was not at Paris when the act paſſed, his oppoſition came too late †.

IN all the aſſemblies of the reformed churches the queen's regency was acknowledged; in Poictou no one ventured to oppoſe this meaſure but D'Aubigné, who maintained that an election of that importance ought to be made in an aſſembly of the ſtates general of the kingdom, and not in the parliament of Paris alone, in which no ſuch power reſided ‡. It could not be ſuppoſed that his oppoſition in a point ſo eſſential to the new regent could recommend him to her favor, yet

* Account of Henry IV.'s death, by Pere Matthieu, De Thou, tom. x. p. 288.
† Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, tom. I. p. 58.
‡ Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 119.

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he was deputed by the province of Poictou, to assure the queen of an entire obedience to her authority. When he arrived at Paris, finding the deputies from the other provinces were not come, he judged it proper to wait for some of them, that the deputation might receive dignity from numbers. When those of nine provinces were arrived, they agreed to be presented to the queen by the sieur de Villearnoul, who was then deputy general of the churches. A warm contest arose concerning the rank of the persons, and the terms wherein they should address the queen; but at length it was determined that D'Aubigné, as most respectable for age and experience of the whole deputation, should pay her the first compliment. The council was offended that none of them knelt down to her majesty, either in coming into her presence, or in taking their leave of her; and monsieur de Villeroy, when the audience was over, asked D'Aubigné why he had not bent the knee to the queen; to which he replied, that the deputies consisted only of gentlemen and clergy, who owed reverence, but neither servility nor adoration to kings*.

Sends for D'Aubigné.

FOUR months after this deputation, the queen, desirous of gaining over a man of so much authority in his party; or if that could not be, of lessening his influence by rendering him suspected of secret intelligence with her, wrote to D'Aubigné to repair to court, on pretence that she wanted to consult him on a private affair, wherein she believed he could give her some useful intelligence. His friends thought it dangerous for him to put himself into the queen's hands, but

* Ibid. p. 121.

not

notwithſtanding their remonſtrances he obeyed, and was for two hours ſhut up with her in her cabinet, the ducheſs of Mercœur keeping the door to prevent interruption. But this conference had no effect; neither ſerving the queen, nor proving of any detriment to D'Aubigné *.

The time for the election of new deputies general for the churches approaching, the huguenots applied to the queen for permiſſion to hold a general aſſembly for that purpoſe, as granted them by the late king. An apprehenſion leſt the huguenots ſhould be encouraged by the weakneſs of a new-aſſumed regency to attempt obtaining greater privileges, or to excite ſome diſturbances in the kingdom, induced the queen to delay the aſſembly ſhe could not refuſe, and ſhe fixed it to be held at Saumur the following year. A.D. 1611. The duke de Bouillon had long been conſidered at court as the chief of the reformed; to gain him over from their party appeared therefore to be the beſt means of preventing any diſagreeable conſequences from the approaching aſſembly. Nor was this a very difficult affair; the duke's ambition gave him hopes of great advantages in a new reign, and by flattering his views, he was eaſily brought to promiſe that nothing ſhould paſs at Saumur but what was perfectly agreeable to the court; aſſuring them, that as he ſhould preſide, it would be eaſy for him to direct their determinations. But herein he was diſappointed, Du Pleſſis Mornay being elected preſident, to the duke's great mortification †. Meſſieurs de

Aſſembly of the huguenots.

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 121.
† Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils, tom. i. p. 139. Hiſt. du duc de Bouill. p. 263. Vie de Du Pleſſis Mornay, p. 348. Memoires du duc de Rohan, p. 10.

Boiſ-

I

Boissieres and La Varenne were the king's commissioners at the assembly. De Boissieres endeavoured by magnificent promises to engage D'Aubigné to favor the interests of the court; but received from him no other answer than, that he did not question the queen would grant all he desired of her, which was to believe him sincerely attached to his religion and his country. La Varenne employed himself very diligently in purchasing the concurrence of such of the deputies as he found venal; but was most especially assiduous in his applications to D'Aubigné, in order, if possible, to lessen his credit with his party, though he had no hope of weakening his attachment to it. So far he succeeded, that one of the men whom he had won by bribery, asked D'Aubigné, in the presence of the duke de Bouillon, "What has la Varenne done at your "house, where he has been twelve times since "yesterday morning?" To which D'Aubigné replied, "What he did at your house the first "time he was there, he could not do at mine "in his twelfth visit *."

The transactions in this assembly at Saumur, broke the friendship which had subsisted thirty years between the duke de Bouillon and D'Aubigné, who had been the principal agent in frustrating the duke's hopes of presiding therein, and warmly opposed many of the propositions he made to the assembly, exposing so evidently his motives and views, as deprived him of all credit among the reformed party. In particular, the duke having made a very pathetic speech to persuade the assembly to resign all their caution-

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 122.

ary towns, and to commit themselves entirely to the direction of the queen and her council, expatiating on the glory they would acquire by thus voluntarily exposing themselves to martyrdom; D'Aubigné replied, "True, Sir, the "glory of martyrdom cannot be too much extolled; inexpressibly happy are they who suffer "for Christ. To endure martyrdom is performing the part of a true and good christian; but "to expose ones brethren to it, by opening the "road to persecution, is acting the part of a "traitor, or of an executioner:" and then proceeding to answer the rest of the duke's speech, he confuted all his arguments with a strength of reason, that the duke could as little forgive as refute.

When the assembly broke up, D'Aubigné, whose custom it was to take leave only of those who seemed near death, or were going to forsake their faith and their party, bid adieu, before the whole company, to one of their ministers named du Ferrier, which gave great offence to him and his friends; but he, by abjuring the reformed religion in two months after, justified D'Aubigné's proceeding, and gave an air of prophecy to the effects of his more than ordinary discernment*.

From this time the affairs of the huguenots began to decline. Few of the principal persons of the party were proof against the liberality with which the court distributed bribes among them; and the influence of the court grew so great, even in the provincial synods, particu-

* Ibid. p. 123.

larly in one held at Thouars, that D'Aubigné took his leave of it, alledging that "his advanced age ought to dispense him from an "attendance on public assemblies, more especially as the society of prostitutes of any sex, "was unfit for one of his years."

THE queen had offered him 5000 francs annual addition to the pension of 7000 livres which Henry had granted him, but he refused to accept it; and thereby gave such offence to her majesty, that she stopped the payment of the first pension; and would not defray the expences of the garrison of Maillezais; which had always been done, in consequence of one of the articles in the edict of Nantes, whereby the king engaged to pay the garrisons in all the towns left in the hands of the reformed. D'Aubigné endeavoured to make reprisals for this abridgement of his finances by some depredations on the river de Sevre, which runs near Maillezais; and thereby gave the court a pretence to threaten him with a siege. Having in this expedition on the river, observed the situation of the little isle of Le Doignon, he judged that it offered him a favourable retreat, if any such design was put in execution; and accordingly purchasing it, built thereon a house, which the queen sent the sieur de Parabere to inspect. D'Aubigné received and entertained him with cordiality and complaisance, in the same manner as if he had come thither only on a friendly visit. The following year D'Aubigné having added some barns and cow-houses to the building, the sieur de Parabere was sent on the like commission, and informing D'Aubigné of it, desired him to meet him there; but D'Aubigné returned

D'Aubigné buys the isle of Le Doignon.

returned for anſwer; that the affair was by no means worth the trouble. The anſwer gave offence to the court, and for a time occaſioned him ſome diſturbance *.

The prince of Condé had returned to court ſoon after the death of Henry the IVth, in expectation of being admitted to that ſhare of power in the ſtate, which as prince of the blood he had a right to claim; but Conchiny, afterwards made marſhal of France, and marquis d'Ancre, who came into the kingdom with the queen on her marriage, was, through the influence of Galigay his wife, in the ſole poſſeſſion of her majeſty's favour; and not only excluded the princes of the blood, and others of the firſt nobility from any participation in the government, but treated them with great inſolence †. The prince of Condé, and the dukes de Bouillon and de Rohan, moſt openly reſented it; and finding no regard had to their complaints, took up arms. The two dukes ſent to D'Aubigné to declare what part he would take on the occaſion; expecting his concurrence from the connexion which unity of faith had made between them. D'Aubigné returned for anſwer, that "he and his friends would readily bear the "burden of their war, if they would preſerve "them from that with which they ſhould be "oppreſſed by the peace that would put an "end to it:" ſenſible that if the chiefs could obtain gratuities from the court, they would leave their adherents to endure the conſequences of the rebellion wherein they had engaged them.

A. D. 1614. The malecontents take arms.

* Ibid. p. 124.
† Hiſt. du duc de Bouillon, liv. 6. p. 288.

This

A pacification agreed upon.

This disturbance was in a short time quieted by concessions from the court in favour of the dukes *, and a general amnesty was published for all concerned in it, except D'Aubigné; who alarmed at this exception, to prevent any fatal effects from it, fortified Maillezais, and put his newly acquired island of Doignon into a state of defence †.

A. D. 1615. Fresh troubles.

D'Aubigné made marechal de camp.

But this pacification was not of long continuance; the male-contents having still the same reason for dissatisfaction, were still actuated by the like resentment: the marshal D'Ancre remained all powerful, and they continued to be neglected. From complaints they at length proceeded to action ‡; and having taken arms, the prince of Condé sent D'Aubigné the offer of being his marechal de camp; but he would not accept of it from a man whose authority he did not acknowledge; but when the assembly of the churches, wherein it had been agreed to give assistance to the prince, made him the same offer, he readily received it, as the servant of the churches.

The duke de Sully, who had given his word to the queen that with twelve of the principal persons in the province on his side he would keep Poictou (of which he was governor) steady to its duty, was disturbed at finding the princes had gained over so considerable a person in

* Ibid. liv. 7. p. 8. Hist. de la Mere, &c. p. 264. Oecon. roy. &c. tom. xii. p. 323.

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 125.

‡ Hist. du duc de Bouill. liv. 7. p. 24. Oecon. roy. tom. xii. p. 334.

that

that province as D'Aubigné, and repaired to Maillezais with a defign of engaging him to join in his pacific views. He tried the effect of careffes; but they failing, proceeded to menaces, which were not likely to prove more availing with a man of fo high a fpirit as he had to deal with. He told D'Aubigné that all the great men in Poictou were united with him, and he fhould be able to exact obedience from thofe who would not voluntarily pay it to him, though they muft be fenfible he had a right to claim it as governor of the province. D'Aubigné provoked by a threat which he thought bordered on infolence, with contemptuous irony replied, "You have forgot one great man, who you "will find is not on your fide, and will loudly "declare his opinion to-morrow morning;" meaning the firft drummer of a regiment he was raifing for his fon, who beat up for recruits very early the next morning. The enfuing day one of his captains, at the head of the garrifon of Maillezais, took the town of Moureille; and D'Aubigné marching to befiege Lufignan, met the duke de Bouillon, going on the fame enterprize. They took this opportunity of renewing the long friendfhip which had fubfifted between them, but had been much cooled by the contention they were engaged in at the affembly of Saumur *.

The forces were not confiderable which the princes commanded; and, each having only fome private interefts of his own in view, their union was imperfect. They carried on a feeble war, defigned folely to work on the weaknefs of

* Hift. Sec. D'Aub. p. 126.

the government, and by fear to induce the queen to grant their demands. To frighten, not to conquer, was their intention; and so far they succeeded, that a treaty was at length concluded at Loudun between them and the queen, whereby the chiefs obtained their demands, with a total neglect of all whom they had engaged in their party; and without redress of those grievances in the government for the removal of which they had professed to take arms *. As soon as this treaty, founded on treachery to the public, and perfidy to individuals, was signed, the prince of Condé, seeing from a window D'Aubigné, whom in council he always termed his father, he called out to him, "Go to Doignon!" and "Go you," answered D'Aubigné, "to the Bastille!" a prediction which was fulfilled the September following, when he was sent thither by the queen, and kept prisoner above three years †. This event would have given pleasure to a man less generous than D'Aubigné, who might have found some gratification in being thus revenged for the loss of 16000 crowns, which he had expended in this war under the prince's banners, and for other injuries received from him; who not contented with sacrificing the public interest which had engaged D'Aubigné in his party, as soon as he got to court represented him in council as a factious enemy to monarchy, and of himself able while he lived to prevent the king from enjoying absolute power.

A. D. 1616. Peace concluded.

* Hist. de la Mere, &c. tom. ii. p. 13. Occon. roy. tom. xii. p. 343.

† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 126. Pere Dan. tom. vii. p. 5. Hist. de la Mere, &c. tom. ii. p. 83.

But

But though D'Aubigné forgave the prince's treachery, the prince never could forgive D'Aubigné, according to an old obſervation that the injurer never forgives the perſon he has injured. Of this the prince gave a ſtrong proof in the meaſures he took to render the duke d'Epernon an enemy to D'Aubigné, by telling him that the character of a Gaſcon Braggard, under the name of the baron de Fœneſte, in a ſatire written by D'Aubigné, was drawn in ridicule of him. No one is humble enough to ſupport ridicule very patiently, but nothing could have been invented that would equally have enraged ſo proud a man as the duke; who in his wrath ſwore vengeance againſt the author; and in effect cauſed his life to be ſeveral times attempted; but D'Aubigné having had notice of thoſe ſiniſter intentions, was put ſo thoroughly on his guard, that he fruſtrated every ſcheme laid for that purpoſe.

The duke d'Epernon exaſperated againſt D'Aubigné.

While the duke's anger was at the height, two gentlemen belonging to him came to dine with D'Aubigné, and the converſation turning on the hatred the duke bore him, they told D'Aubigné that nobleman had made a public declaration before five hundred gentlemen, that if he could by no other means procure his death, he ſhould be reduced to ſend him a challenge, to meaſure ſwords with him in ſome place convenient for that purpoſe. To which D'Aubigné replied, "I am not ſo ignorant but I know "the privileges of a duke and peer of France; "and that one of thoſe attached to his dignity "is to refuſe fighting with an inferior. I "know alſo the reſpect I owe to the colonel "general of the French infantry; but if an

"excess of anger or of courage, should incline "the duke to lay his commands on me to "measure swords with him, I would certainly "obey him. He formerly shewed me one, the "hilt of which was set with diamonds, to the "value of about twenty thousand crowns; if he "would bring that with him, it would be more "agreeable to me than any other *."

ONE of the gentlemen said, the thing was impossible, for the duke could not so far sacrifice his dignity to his courage, as to engage in such a combat. "Sir," answered D'Aubigné, "we are in France, where those who are princes "by birth, can no more divest themselves of "their dignity than of the skins in which they "were born; but be assured that a man may "lay aside acquired dignity without dishonour-"ing himself. The duke d'Epernon may there-"fore suspend his prerogatives, since he was "born like me a private gentleman." The other replied, "But, sir, supposing that to be "true, the duke is so surrounded by noblemen "and friends, that were he determined to en-"counter you, they would prevent him from

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* In some of the preceding pages Mons. D'Aubigné has been censured for giving too readily into the, then, general practice of duelling; in justice to him it is therefore necessary to mention, that since the printing of the first part of this work the author has been favoured with the perusal of a manuscript account of D'Aubigné written by Mons. Misson, in the possession of Mr. Le Touche of Chelsea, by which it appears that in those single combats he never was the assailant, keeping only on the defensive part: and amongst the papers he left behind him, consisting of several copies of verses and treatises, many unfinished, on various subjects, was one against duelling, shewing not only the sinfulness but the absurdity of the practice.

"execut-

"executing his design; and put it out of his "power to secure to you a safe place for the "combat." D'Aubigné answered, that he would undertake to deliver the duke from that impediment, and would engage to procure him a safe and convenient spot for that purpose, even in the duke's own government, in despight of all his grace's friends, and their best endeavours to prevent it. This conversation being repeated to the duke, he swore more bitterly than ever to be revenged on D'Aubigné *.

But the duke's hatred gave him little trouble, in comparison with a domestic vexation which wounded him in the tenderest part. Constant D'Aubigné, his eldest son, had been bred up by him with the greatest care, and at an expence disproportionate to his circumstances; he having sought out the most excellent preceptors, and withdrawn them from the greatest families in the kingdom by doubling their salaries; neglecting the convenience of his own affairs, in order to procure the young man every advantage instruction could give him. But he could only bestow the means; to secure success was beyond his power. That most destructive of vices, gaming, the sure road to meanness and treachery, was become very common in France. Henry the IVth was much addicted to it; from the court it soon spread itself over the kingdom; Constant was early infected with it, and not less inclined to drunkenness. He forsook his studies, and soon was immersed in every kind of vice. Without his father's knowledge, he married a woman unworthy of his rank, whom he afterwards inhumanly killed.

Depravity of Constant D'Aubigné.

* Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 129.

How-

However criminal his son, D'Aubigné had still for him the affection of a father; and to withdraw him from the court, which was not a place wherein he could hope to effect a reformation, he raised a regiment for him on the prince of Condé's taking arms, in hopes of turning his passions to a desire of military glory; and by giving him employment, to wear off some of the bad effects of idleness: but to no purpose. The war ended almost as soon as it began; and Constant returned to court; where he lost at play twenty times more than he was worth; and, as his only resource, abjured his religion and embraced the Romish faith, the king having promised to be a father to him. His wit, and great superiority of talents, both by nature, and by his early acquirements, before his vicious course of life had obstructed his improvement, rendered him a very desirable convert; and no doubt but he was the more acceptable, for being the son of the stanchest huguenot in the kingdom, in whose vexation it seemed to the catholics almost piety to rejoice.

Constant's change of religion was the heaviest affliction that could befall his father; who on hearing that he frequented the company of Jesuits, had sent him a prohibition of conversing with them for the future, on pain of incurring his malediction. The young man thinking it for his interest to dissemble, acknowledged he had some acquaintance with two of those fathers, but did not confess his conversion; which was not then made public; and having obtained, by their means, a permission from the pope to join in all the offices of devotion in the re-

reformed church, without impeaching his profession of the catholic faith, he went to his father in Poictou, with a design of getting Maillezais and le Doignon into his possession; a design thought worthy of his holiness's indulgence to facilitate.

D'Aubigne', unsuspicious of his son's treachery, sought to detach him from the court by an easy establishment; and after making him his lieutenant in Maillezais, with the full power of governor, he withdrew to le Doignon. He had soon reason to know that such indulgence was fruitless, for in a short time Maillezais was converted into a gaming-house, a brothel, and a mint for coining of false money. But the young man ruined his schemes by too much confidence. He boasted in his letters to his friends at court, that the garrison was all in his interest against his father: who being informed of his views by a lady there, and by the ministers of Poictou, he caused some petards and ladders to be put into a boat, and under favor of the night approached Maillezais; when advancing alone, and in disguise, to the gate of the citadel, a centinel perceiving him, attempted to obstruct his passage; but D'Aubigné seizing him by the collar, and threatening to stab him, the centinel ceased his opposition, and D'Aubigné secured the gate; he then introduced the men he had brought with him; and turned out those whom his son believed he had corrupted to his purpose.

Constant, thus disappointed, retired to Nyort, with the Baron de Neuillant, who like him had revolted against his father, where we shall

ſhall leave him; forming plans for the ſurprizal of Doignon *.

The imprisonment of the prince of Condé made the former diſcontents break out again †. The princes more exaſperated than ever againſt the marſhal d'Ancre, on account of ſo inſolent an abuſe of his power, had once more recourſe to arms; but laid them down on the young king's cauſing the marſhal to be murdered ‡, and deſiring the queen regent to retire to Blois, ſpeciouſly intimating, that he would relieve her from the trouble of intermeddling any longer in affairs of government §.

A. D. 1617.

Murder of the marſhal D'Ancre.

D'Aubigné concerned himſelf little in theſe commotions; they offered him no proſpect of gaining advantage for his reformed brethren; to whom he was become rather burdenſome, by giving them advice for the management of the affairs of their community, which was too honeſt for the leading men amongſt them to follow. He warned them of dangers which long experience made him foreſee, or which he had learnt from a private memorial drawn up at Rome, concerning future deſigns againſt the huguenots, which had fallen into his hands ‖; but the predictions founded on wiſdom or knowledge, were repreſented by his enemies as nothing but the pretended prophecies of a dumb fortuneteller, whom he for ſome time kept in his houſe,

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 154.
† Pere Dan. tom. vii. p. 5.
‡ Hiſt. de la Mere, &c. tom. ii. p. 156. Hiſt. du duc de Bouill. lib. 8. p. 68.
§ Pere Dan. tom. vii. p. 6.
‖ Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 130.

having

having heard a very extraordinary account of his divinations; and it plainly appears that D'Aubigné was ſo infected with the ſuperſtitions of the age he lived in, that he firmly believed this dumb conjurer foretold the time and circumſtances of Henry IV.'s death, and the principal events of his ſon's reign. For though he forbad his children and ſervants aſking the man any queſtions concerning future events, yet he ſays they would not forbear; and from them he learnt theſe facts; never having made any enquiry himſelf on ſuch ſubjects *.

Finding it ſo little in his power to be of uſe to his party, he wiſhed to withdraw himſelf as much as poſſible from all affairs, and to be no longer charged with the keeping of Maillezais and Doignon. He applied to an aſſembly of the churches, at that time held at Rochelle, for leave to deliver up thoſe two places into the hands of perſons on whoſe fidelity the churches might depend. The aſſembly was divided; part were for granting his requeſt; but the majority concluded to have both places razed to the ground; which occaſioned him the following letter from monſieur de Villeroy. Letter from Villeroy to D'Aubigné.

"What will you ſay to thoſe good friends "for whom you have loſt a penſion of 7000 "livres, and refuſed an augmentation of 5000, "which was offered you; beſides incurring for "their ſakes the anger of the king? They "ſolicit us in the moſt urgent terms to deſtroy "your houſe before your face; I uſe the words "of theſe your excellent friends. If it were

* Ibid. p. 132.

"left

"left to you, how would you answer them? I "desire you will inform me."

D'Aubigné's answer.

D'Aubigne gave the following reply to this letter: "If you wish me to dictate an answer to the request of the Rochelese, it shall be in these terms, "Be it done as is desired, at the "peril of those who shall undertake it." Monsieur de Villeroy having reported this short answer in council, the president Jeannin said he well understood the meaning of it; "which," added he, "is no other than that he fears neither "them nor us." To know on what foundation this security was built, Vignoles, marechal de camp in the king's army, was sent to take a view of Maillezais and Doignon, under pretence of making a visit to D'Aubigné, which he could do with the less suspicion, as having lived in friendship with him, and been bred in the late king's family under D'Aubigné's direction. When Vignoles had carefully and accurately examined both places, he wrote to the court, that Rochelle (to which they were then forming a design to lay siege) could not be besieged till they had free passage by the river de Sevre, for the transportation of provisions for the king's army; which they could not have without first being in possession of Maillezais and Doignon, as they commanded the river; but that Maillezais would require a royal army to besiege it; and it would be more difficult to lay siege to le Doignon, than to take Rochelle. On this intelligence the court dispatched two commissioners to treat with D'Aubigné on a compensation for those places.

D'Aubigné sells Maillezais and le Doignon.

The duke d'Epernon, and the bishop of Maillezais had long been endeavouring to purchase them; the duke had offered 200,000 livres; but

but D'Aubigné, who regarded money far less than the interests of his brethren, chose rather to sell them to the duke de Rohan * for 100,000 livres; the half only to be paid on the delivery of the places, and the remainder at a more distant period, than to suffer the enemies of the huguenots to get them into their possession †.

A violent fever, by confining D'Aubigné to his bed, detained him at le Doignon, after the sale of it. While he was in this state, a captain who followed Constant, and who if attracted by a similitude in some vices, had at least not lost all his virtue, but together with his attachment to the son, retained some gratitude for the benefits he had received from the father, brought him information that Constant was on his march at the head of four-score men, supported by another band which was advancing by water, in order to surprize Maillezais or le Doignon that night. D'Aubigné, who knew that the commander of the garrison was a man totally ignorant of every branch of the military art, unfit as his condition rendered him for exertion, rose from his bed, and having gathered together thirty-six soldiers, without one officer, determined to march to a place which his son could not avoid passing, and there wait for him. But the agitation of his mind and body having increased his fever, monsieur D'Adets, his son in law, and two of monsieur D'Adets' sons, fell at his feet to conjure him in the most urgent terms to return to his bed. He complied with their intreaties; and monsieur D'Adets, being

* Mem. de duc de Rohan, p. 78.
† Ibid. p. 135.

directed

directed by him in the manner he ſhould proceed, put himſelf at the head of the little troop his father in law had collected, and meeting Conſtant on his march to le Doignon, attacked and defeated him; though his corps conſiſted of above double the number D'Adets commanded *.

A.D. 1619. WHEN D'Aubigné had recovered from his illneſs, rendered far more ſevere by the atrocious behaviour of his ſon, and thoſe daggers which the ingratitude of one ſo near, and long ſo dear to him had planted in his breaſt, he removed to St. Jean d'Angeli, where he buſied himſelf in ſeeing the impreſſion of his works compleated, particularly the two firſt volumes of his hiſtory, which being publiſhed the enſuing year, were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, it being alledged that he had therein treated the characters of princes with too little reſpect, and reflected on the catholic religion, and thoſe who profeſſed it †.

FROM the time the queen mother retired to Blois, ſhe had lived in a kind of honourable impriſonment; and had the mortification of ſeeing all perſons removed from about her who were in any degree attached to her intereſt. Galigay, marchioneſs d'Ancre, had been beheaded on frivolous accuſations of witchcraft. Being aſked what incantations ſhe had uſed to gain ſo great a power over the queen, ſhe replied, that "ſhe had no power but what aroſe from the "influence a ſtrong mind naturally has over a "weak one." A truth of which the judges

* Ibid. p. 155. † Ibid. p. 155.

were

were no doubt well convinced, but the ſieur de Luines, the king's favorite, wanted to get poſſeſſion of the great riches ſhe and her huſband had accumulated, and her death was a neceſſary ſtep to the attainment of his views.

THE very ill treatment given the queen, and the intelligence ſhe received of a deſign formed to confine her in a convent, or baniſh her the kingdom, determined her to make her eſcape from Blois, and put herſelf under the protection of the dukes d'Epernon, de Bouillon, de Rohan, and other malecontents, who were ſtill as much diſſatisfied with the government as ever, no alteration having been made in their favor by the change of miniſters. Purſuant to this reſolution the queen got out of a window of the caſtle of Blois, and with only eight of her attendants made her eſcape, and was received by the duke d'Epernon *. Feb. 21. The queen mother eſcapes from Blois.

THE malecontents raiſed what forces they were able, and obtained ſome aſſiſtance from the huguenots; who having ſuffered much ill-treatment from the government, hoped by this junction to gain ſome redreſs. The duke de Rohan aſſembled ſome of his friends at St. Maixant, among whom was D'Aubigné, to conſult with them on the operations of the war he had engaged in; and was ſo ſanguine in his expectations of ſucceſs, that he aſked D'Aubigné what meaſures he ought to purſue, if the queen ſhould with an army of 60,000 men lay ſiege to Paris. Inſtead of giving the inſtructions re- The malecontents take up arms.

* Hiſt. de la Mere & de Fils, tom. ii. p. 332. Mem. de duc de Rohan, p. 75. Mem. de Baſſomp. tom. i. p. 456.

quired,

quired, D'Aubigné endeavoured to ſhew him the madneſs of the ſuppoſition; repreſented the confuſion which would neceſſarily diſſipate in its very birth this formidable party, compoſed of perſons who ſecretly hated each other; declaring for his part that he would not draw his ſword on ſuch an occaſion. But taking leave of the duke, and the prince de Soubize his brother, he told them, that though he would not engage in the queen mother's cauſe, yet when they ſhould be reduced to extremity he would ſerve them to the utmoſt of his power, and join them in their preſſing neceſſity. Thus ready was he to ſacrifice that life for his friends, which he would not hazard for a woman who did not deſerve his ſervices. He returned to St. Jean d'Angeli; and remained there till he heard that theſe men, who had in imagination beſieged Paris, were routed by the king's troops at Pont de Cé *; when receiving a letter from the duke de Rohan, claiming the execution of his promiſe to join them in their extremity, he repaired to him and the prince de Soubize, whom he found at the head of about fourteen hundred men, in the utmoſt perplexity, being utterly at a loſs what courſe to take; but all advice was rendered unneceſſary by the account which immediately after arrived of the peace concluded between the queen mother and the king, wherein all her adherents, who ſhould chuſe to accept the terms, were comprehended †.

Are defeated at Pont de Cé.

Auguſt 9.

Peace concluded.

* Mem. de duc de Rohan, p. 82. Mem. de Baſſomp. tom. i. p. 503.

† Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 136. Hiſt. du duc de Bouill. liv. 8. p. 80. Mem. de Baſſompiere, tom. ii. p. 507. Mem. de duc de Rohan, p. 82.

THE

THE king having dispersed this ill formed party, filled Poictou with his victorious troops, which rendered that province a very dangerous abode for D'Aubigné, against whom the court was greatly exasperated on account of his history: nor was any other part of France much more secure; general orders being given to apprehend him; and his picture sent to the places, where it was supposed his person might not be known. Geneva offered him the safest and most agreeable retreat, as he would there find not only civil liberty, but the free exercise of his religion, the reformed persuasion being there established: on this place therefore he determined, and having concealed in his saddle, and those of his attendants, the money he had by him *, he set out from St. Jean d'Angeli, attended by twelve horsemen well armed; and though every pass was guarded, and orders given at each to seize him, yet by his perfect knowledge of the country, and all the bye ways, he proceeded very successfully. The first night he lay in a place surrounded by three regiments, and three bodies of the guards; but kept clear of them; and advanced to Chateauroux, where he found no means of passing; till having the good fortune to meet with a peasant, better acquainted with those parts, he was shewn by him a ford over the river not generally known. At Bourges he was reduced to the same difficulty, and relieved out of it in the same manner. In many places he was furnished with guides by gentlemen who knew him not †.

A. D. 1620.

D'Aubigné leaves France.

* Spond's hist. of Geneva, book the 3d, p. 674.
† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 137.

BUT

But this was not the cafe at Cônforgieu; the baron of that place was acquainted with him, and appointed him a guide to conduct him on his way, to whom he was alfo known. This man gave notice to fome of the neighbouring gentlemen of the perfon whom he was to have under his care, and agreed to lead him into an ambufcade they were to lay for him. Every thing was difpofed in the manner concerted; but the next morning, as the guide was fpeaking to D'Aubigné, he was fo violently affected with remorfe for the treachery he had intended, that he was too ill to fet out on the journey; another was fubftituted in his place, who conducting him by a different road from that the firft guide had intended to go, he efcaped the fnare. This defign againft his life was afterwards confeffed by one of the gentlemen engaged in it, who on his death-bed afked pardon for the intention.

As D'Aubigné paffed through Maçon, that his numbers might not attract notice, he made his attendants divide, and ride only two abreaft; but he was known by an old man, who wifhing him too well to inform againft him, whifpered one of his men, "You do right to pafs thus, "only two together." At Gex the fight of fo many armed men caufed an alarm, as in that diftrict it was not allowable to bear arms in time of peace; fome of the garrifon laid hold of one of D'Aubigné's retinue, and would have done the fame by him, had he not made a vigorous refiftance. He happily efcaped from them without killing any of his opponents; though he could ufe little ceremony with them, as his life was at ftake; for the marquis de Cipiere,

Cipiere, commander in thoſe parts, was ordered to ſeize him, if he paſſed that way; and had his picture as a means to diſcover him *.

He arrives at Geneva;

AFTER this tedious and dangerous journey, D'Aubigné arrived at Geneva the firſt of September 1620. * He was received with every mark of honour and diſtinction by that republic; his firm attachment to his religion, his ſtrict integrity, and his uncommon valour, having before gained him the eſteem of that people; who thought themſelves fortunate in acquiring ſo noble a commander at a time when they were under apprehenſions of being beſieged by the duke of Savoy. Beſides the civilities uſually ſhewn there to ſtrangers of rank, the firſt ſyndic waited upon him to conduct him to the church, and placed him in the ſeat of the late ſyndic, a ſeat till then given only to princes, and the ambaſſadors of kings. When church was over, the magiſtrates, in a body, gave him a public entertainment, to which ſome ſtrangers were invited; and to ſuch minute and trifling attentions did they extend their civility, that at this feaſt he was ſerved with marchpanes, a kind of biſcuits, on which his coat of arms was marked. One of the beſt houſes in the town was provided for him at the public expence; all the magazines were ſhewn him; the ſecrets of the government were entruſted to him; the garriſon was made to paſs in review before him; and a council of war was eſtabliſhed, compoſed of ſeven perſons, of which he was made preſident. In this office he acted till all the members were required to take an oath of fidelity to the republic, and of

His reception there.

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 138.

inviolable secrecy in regard to all its transactions; an engagement which he thought unfit for a man to enter into with any country but his own, lest in time some circumstances might arise to oblige him to break his oath, or to fail in the duty of a true patriot; but he had no such objection to the care of the fortifications of the city, which were committed to his charge, and repaired and increased by his direction *.

Applied to by the assembly at Rochelle.

SIX weeks after his arrival at Geneva, the war having again broken out in France, the general assembly of the churches of Rochelle sent him two messages, with authentic testimonies of their repentance for having treated him with so much injustice, in regard to the town of Maillezais and the isle of Doignon; and also with a general procuration to engage the churches in a body, and the Rochelese in particular, in several treaties; giving him proper credentials to the Protestant Cantons in Switzerland, Geneva, the Hans Towns, and several protestant princes of Germany: they likewise sent him draughts of treaties with blanks to be filled up at his discretion, and flying seals to be affixed when he should judge proper; accompanied with instructions; which all tended to engage the Swiss to furnish them with troops gratuitously; and to facilitate the passage of such levies as D'Aubigné could make by other means. To these was added a commission for him to command this army when raised. The alliance between Geneva and France rendering some care necessary in delivering these dispatches

* Ibid. p. 139. Spond's Hist. of Geneva, book the 3d, p. 174.

to

to D'Aubigné; the bearer disguised himself in the dress of a peasant, and the conferences were held among some new built houses at a small distance from the city. A.D. 1621.

THE count de Mansfeldt, till then engaged in Bohemia, was seeking some more advantageous service for his troops, an opportunity of executing part of his commission which D'Aubigné would not lose, but treated with him and the duke de Weimar, who engaged jointly to bring 12000 foot, 6000 horse, and twelve cannon to the river of Saone, to join three regiments, of 2000 men each, which D'Aubigné promised to gather together; and agreed to execute in that army the post of camp master general. The whole expence of the march was to be defrayed by the assembly of Rochelle. The affair being entirely settled, and Mansfeldt having advanced as far as Alsace; while D'Aubigné was waiting for a remittance of money from Rochelle, he was informed that some of his enemies, having represented that this great army would appear more formidable under the command of the duke de Bouillon, whose rank would increase its importance, they had brought the assembly over to their proposal; and Mansfeldt, in consequence of fresh orders from them, directed his march to Sedan *; thus the only consequence all these negotiations produced in respect to D'Aubigné was the loss of 500 pistoles, which he had expended in carrying them on. Such were the effects of the repentance and gratitude of the Rochelese †.

Engages foreign succours for the huguenots.

A.D. 1622.

* Hist. du duc de Bouill. liv. 8. p. 96.
† Hist. Sec. D'Aub. p. 141.

D'Aubigné invited to Berne.

At this time the citizens of Berne ſent the ſon of their chief magiſtrate to requeſt D'Aubigné to viſit their city; with which he complied; and was received with firing of cannon, feaſts, and every kind of honour they could beſtow, which they carried to ſuch exceſs, that though prejudiced no doubt in ſome degree, by their being done to honour him, yet he could not forbear diſapproving. His viſit then was ſhort; but he repeated it ſome time after, and ſtaid three or four months; having prevailed upon them to let him ſurround the city with a regular fortiſication; though to erect any was contrary to their laws, and the opinions of many perſons of the canton. When the fortifications were completed, and he had been conducted by ſome of the magiſtrates to ſee the other places in the canton, they deſired him to accept of the poſt of their captain general; but he excuſed himſelf on account of his ignorance in their language. They then urged him to recommend them a proper perſon for that office; he named three, the Vidame de Chartres, the marquis de Montbrun, and the count de la Suze: the laſt was the object of their choice *.

To Baſle.

The citizens of Baſle were alſo deſirous of receiving his opinion and advice concerning the fortifications of their city, and ſent to requeſt his preſence; but they never completed the plan which he traced out for them.

During the reſidence he made in Switzerland, Squaramel, ambaſſador from the republic of Venice, made a propoſal to him from that

* Ibid. p. 144.

republic,

republic, of conferring on him the rank of general of the French troops in their ſervice; but when the treaty was on the point of concluſion, the ſieur de Miron, ambaſſador from France to the Swiſs cantons, having received intelligence of it, informed the Venetian ambaſſador, that his republic would highly offend the moſt chriſtian king, if it took into its ſervice a man his majeſty moſt particularly hated.

It was to no purpoſe that D'Aubigné's friends repreſented that the cauſes which excite the hatred of monarchs, ſhould be conſidered as letters of recommendation to a common-wealth; fear prevailed over the deſire the Venetians had felt to attach to themſelves an able and faithful ſervant.

Is perſecuted by the French ambaſſador.

The ſieur de Miron did not on this ſucceſs ceaſe his ill offices to D'Aubigné; he was indefatigable in his endeavours to deprive him of the ſafe and honourable aſſylum granted him at Geneva. He firſt accuſed him to the magiſtracy of having ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the king; but the evil he deſigned was prevented by D'Aubigné's deſiring a thorough examination might be made into the truth of the accuſation; which proved to his advantage. De Miron then informed them he had received letters from the king of France, to the ſame effect, wherein D'Aubigné was deſcribed, but not named. The ſovereign council of the city conſulted him on what anſwer they ſhould return, which was agreed upon in the following terms: "As to the reſt of your letter, which "relates to certain perſons accuſed and convict-"ed of atrocious crimes, of having formed

 "treaties

"treaties against France, and failed in the "respect due to his most christian majesty, who "have taken refuge in this city, be assured that "no private person ever brought before us just "complaints against any man, without receiving "as speedy, as severe, and as perfect "justice here as in any place whatsoever; and "if those who now complain, will send hither "a man capable of making good the accusation, "and properly provided with proofs of "the charge, our respect for the king of France, "and our regard to your remonstrances will "render us particularly active in our endeavours "to deserve the reputation for justice, "which the conduct of our predecessors has "given to our republic; but in what expressly "regards his most christian majesty we shall "act in the most vigorous manner, and with "all possible rigour, to shew how profoundly "we revere a name so glorious. Of this we "gave a remarkable proof last year, in reference "to a gentleman retired hither, against "whom a complaint was made much of the "same nature as the present; two of our council, "who had borne the first place in the "magistracy, were appointed to make a careful "search into the merits of the cause, that "the accused might be condemned or acquitted, "as justice should require; and during the "enquiry, which continued six months, this "town was his prison; but nothing having "appeared, &c. *"

A.D. 1623. D'AUBIGNE', notwithstanding the perplexities into which it may be supposed these malicious

* Ibid. p. 146.

attacks

attacks muſt involve him, bought at that time a piece of land called, la Terre du Creſt, and built a houſe on it; which being with him a favourite amuſement, and paſſing much of his time in ſeeing the work go forward, one day having mounted on a ſcaffold to the fifth ſtory, as he was looking at the workmen, it fell down, but he ſaved himſelf by catching hold of a ſtone in the wall, which though ſmall, and lately put in, ſupported him long enough to give him time to ſee two ſtakes under the place where he hung, which ſtood in ſuch a manner as to impale him had he fallen upon them: but his people got to him before the ſtone gave way, or he was obliged to quit his hold; which muſt in a little longer time have been the caſe, as both his hands had been much hurt by the breaking of the ſcaffold. He buys la Terre du Creſt.

THIS place ſerved him for a peaceful retreat; and the pleaſure and quiet he enjoyed there gave him ſome conſolation under the continual perſecutions he ſuffered from the court of France, which rendered his abode at Geneva often irkſome to him, and would at length have determined him to quit that city entirely, if the duke of Savoy's frequent menaces of beſieging it, and the preparations he made for that purpoſe, had not detained him there; as it was never his practice to fly from danger, eſpecially when it threatened his benefactors.

HIS friends at Geneva gave a proof of their regard for him not very well ſuited to his years; negotiating a marriage between him, and the widow of monſieur Barbany, of the Bourlamachi family in Luca; a lady highly reſpected and

and beloved at Geneva, more on account of her virtue, her charity, and benevolence, than for her illustrious extraction, and fortune, which was very considerable. This being reported in France, awakened the malice of his enemies, who in hopes of lessening him in madame Barbany's esteem, entered a process against him in France, where, without having been heard, or even summoned to make his defence, he was condemned to be beheaded, for having built some bastions with the materials of a church destroyed in the year 1572; which was the fourth time he had been sentenced to death on accusations of that nature.

Is condemned to death in France.

D'AUBIGNE', desirous of knowing what impression this would make on his mistress's mind, carried her himself the first news of his condemnation; but though many might suppose that it would not be difficult to disgust her with a lover of about seventy-three years old, yet she without any emotion immediately made answer, "I shall "think myself too happy in sharing with you "any consequences that may arise from your "attachment to the true religion; those whom "God has joined, no man shall separate." Their marriage was celebrated very soon after, and the following lines addressed to D'Aubigné on the occasion:

Marries madame Barbany.

Paris te dresse un vain Tombeau,
Geneve un certain Hymenée,
A Paris tu meure en tableau,
Vis ici au sein de Renée *.

* Ibid. p. 148.

A little before his marriage he dismissed four gentlemen from his train, delivered up the house provided for him by the republic on his first going thither, and reduced himself to the menage his wife had before established. To free himself from the envy and complaints of the German nobles, who murmured at the superior distinctions shewn him in the city, he gave up the seat assigned him at church; but the republic appointed him another, not much less honourable, and far more convenient.

He was not suffered to enjoy his new establishment in peace; monsieur de Miron caused various falshoods to be circulated, even in the town of Geneva, to blacken his character, and at the same time to make the citizens fear lest the king of France, whose protection was so necessary to them, should cause them to feel his resentment for the honours they paid to D'Aubigné. Ten men were also hired to assassinate him, who made no great secret of their purpose, and swore the execution of it; but whenever he went abroad, he was accompanied by so many friends, watchful for his safety, that the villains could find no opportunity to attack him. The duke d'Epernon was suspected of being the employer of these assassins, which induced D'Aubigné to write to monsieur de Candale, the duke's son, that he should advise his father to make a more judicious choice of his men, and to employ such as were more dextrous in the performance of their business.

The constable de Lesdiguieres, though at variance with him, having entered into a war with Genoa, and being under some difficulties, sent A. D. 1625.

ſent a councellor of ſtate to propoſe to him an enterprize on Franche Comté with three regiments, and a certain number of gens-d'armes, of which he was to have the command; but this ſcheme came to nothing *. D'Aubigné's age required the quiet of domeſtic life; the generous attachment the republic had ſhewn to him, and their vigilant care for his ſafety, at laſt diſcouraged his enemies from attempting any thing farther againſt him; the virtues of his wife, the eaſineſs of his fortune, and the great eſteem he was held in, afforded him all the comforts of an honourable old age; and he had no view beyond enjoying them in peace, when the earl of Carliſle paſſed through Geneva in his return from an embaſſy to Conſtantinople, and by the moſt friendly careſſes, by the exceſſive honours he paid him, and the warmth with which he ſolicited him to accompany him into England, prevailed ſo far that every thing was prepared for his voyage thither, but the deſign the duke of Savoy appeared to have of laying immediate ſiege to Geneva, then deſtitute of all defence, induced him to lay aſide his intention, that he might not be abſent at a time when he could be of ſervice to the republic.

Ill behaviour of Conſtant D'Aubigné.

But though he ſtill remained in the boſom of his family, his peace was grievouſly diſturbed by his ſon Conſtant, who having totally ruined himſelf by his vices, and incurred the contempt of every one, except of the moſt abandoned women, in the moſt infamous houſes; ſought a reconciliation with his father, who wrote him word, that "when he had made his peace with his

* Ibid. p. 152.

"heavenly

"heavenly father, his earthly father would grant "him his pardon." Being reduced to extreme necessity, he came to Geneva as soon as he received this answer, presented himself to the ministers to be reconciled to their church, performed every thing they exacted from him, sent letters into Poictou, and to Paris, declaring that he was returned into the bosom of that church wherein he was bred; and even wrote both in prose and verse against the papal power; which so well satisfied his father, that he furnished him with money for his immediate necessities, and gave him as good an income as his circumstances would permit.

As Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was then raising troops for the war in which he soon afterwards gained so much glory, Constant D'Aubigné was advised to repair to him, and assured he would there find employment; but the length of the voyage he must make, deterred him from taking that course, and he determined on going into England. Though D'Aubigné flattered himself with the hopes of his reformation, yet the point was too doubtful for him to venture his honour upon it, therefore he durst not give him any letters of recommendation to the king, nor the duke of Buckingham; but recommended him to some of his particular friends of inferior rank, though with many restrictions. But the young man boldly presented himself to the king and the duke, telling them that his father had forborne to write, fearing as the seas were then filled with French vessels, his A.D. 1627. letters might be taken. Rochelle was at that time besieged, and the king summoning his privy council, composed only of four persons beside the

the duke of Buckingham, and an envoy from the duke de Rohan, then commander of the huguenot army, Constant D'Aubigné was invited to it. A resolution was there formed of declaring war against France; and as the first step, it was determined to send to invite D'Aubigné from Geneva. A gentleman was appointed for that purpose; but Constant, apprehensive lest his deceit should be brought to light, prevailed with the king to suffer him to be the messenger, by urging, that he should be more able to persuade his father to undertake a voyage, which at his age might not appear very eligible.

He came accordingly to Geneva, and delivered the message with which he was entrusted. His father asked him several times if he had not passed through Paris; having exacted, as a principal condition of their reconciliation, that he should never enter that town; well convinced that the splendor of the court, the allurements of the brothel, and thirst for money, would seduce him from any good purposes he might have formed; Constant assured him in the most solemn manner that he had not been there. But during the preparations D'Aubigné was making for his voyage, he conceived suspicions of his son which deterred him from undertaking it; and he sent him back with a civil message and fair promises, but in general terms; not trusting him with his real intentions; a symptom of distrust of which the young man made some fruitless complaints.

D'Aubigné, on exact enquiry, found that his son in his way from England had been in Paris, and had a conference with monsieur de Schomberg; that in returning to England he also passed through

through that city, where he ſaw the king and monſ. de Schomberg, and diſcovered to them all he knew of the affairs of England, notwithſtanding the oath of ſecreſy he had taken, and the unmerited honours he received there. So treacherous a proceeding affected his father moſt ſenſibly, and determined him to caſt him off for ever. But ſtill tender on the point of honour, he formed a reſolution, notwithſtanding his great age, of going into England, to exculpate himſelf from having had any participation in his ſon's treachery. He had prepared all things for his expedition, when he was again moved to relinquiſh it by the ſame cauſe which had before prevented his going thither, the dangers which threatened Geneva. The war of Mantoua had drawn troops together from all parts, which in a manner ſurrounded the town, and when thus beſet with Italian, French, and German armies, the city was deſtitute of corn, of ſalt, and the moſt neceſſary proviſions. His fears leſt this circumſtance ſhould encourage ſome of the adjacent troops to beſiege it in his abſence, made him change his deſign, ſacrificing every other conſideration to his gratitude to that republic; deſiring nothing more than to dye in its defence, to ſhew the ſenſe he entertained of the numerous proofs they had given him of eſteem, affection, and reſpect *. A. D. 1628.

D'AUBIGNE''s apprehenſions proved vain; the city was, poſſibly, preſerved by the oppoſite intereſts of the ſeveral nations whoſe armies ſurrounded it, none of which would have borne to have ſeen Geneva in the poſſeſſion of another;

* Hiſt. Sec. D'Aub. p. 158.

and

and he was left to end that life in peace which had been amazingly preserved through an incredible series of dangers. After having enjoyed the pleasing effects of the increasing esteem of that people, being called to all their important deliberations *, and applied to on every exigence, as one whose wisdom and integrity rendered him their best counsellor, he died at the age of four-

A. D. 1630. D'Aubigné dies.

score years; regretted by the whole city, and more tenderly lamented by his wife.

He was interred in St. Peter's cloyster, having before made his own epitaph, designed as a kind of testamentary admonition to his children. It was engraven on a handsome monument, and conceived in these terms †:

D. O. M.

His epitaph.

Testor Liberi quam vobis aptus sum
Solo favente Numine
Adversis ventis bonis Artibus
Irrequietus Quietem
Eam colere si Deum colitis
Si patrissatis contingat
Si secus secus accidat
Hâc Pater iterum Pater
Per quem non a quo verè vivere
Et bene datum vobis
Studiorum Hæredibus Monumento
Scripsit.
Theodorus Agrippa Albineus
Octuagenrius.
Obiit Anno 1630, April. Die 29.

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* Spond's Hist. of Gen. book 3. p. 174.
† D'Aubigné's manuscripts.

To

To the glory of the moſt good and moſt high God. My children, and the children of my children, my laſt wiſh is, that you may enjoy the repoſe which I have acquired for you, through the gracious aſſiſtance of God alone, not without great labour, diſappointment, and ſolicitude. If you ſerve God, and follow the inſtructions of your father, may you ever enjoy that repoſe! Troubles and vexations muſt be the inevitable conſequences of a contrary conduct. Your father, doubly your father, by whom, and not of whom you have received your natural life, and have been inſtructed how to lead a good life, leaves this wiſh as a monument of honour to the inheritors of his ſtudies, and as a monument of ignominy and reproach to thoſe who ſhall degenerate. The tranſlation.

D'Aubigne' left three children, Conſtant, his ſon, and two daughters; the eldeſt daughter married the ſeigneur D'Adets de Caumont, &c. the other the ſeigneur de Villette de Murſey. Happy it was for D'Aubigné that he could not ſee ſo far into futurity as to know that his grand daughter, by his worthleſs ſon, would have ſo great a ſhare in the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the ſubſequent deſtruction of the reformed churches in France, for the preſervation of which he ſo freely ſacrificed his fortune, and would joyfully have laid down his life, could he thereby have purchaſed their proſperity. The intereſts of the religion he profeſſed were through life his firſt object; he wiſhed to extend its influence, and ſteadily practiſed the duties it recommended; from which even his paſſions, ſtrong as they were by nature, could not ſeduce him. His integrity,

tegrity, his love of civil liberty, and every principle of virtue, were so founded on, or blended with his piety, that neither the sunshine of favor, nor the storms of fortune, could overcome them. Ambition could not tempt him to violate the natural probity of his mind, nor to forego his sincerity, though he knew that his fortune was at stake; that by courtly compliances he should rise to honours and dignities; without them had nothing but neglect, perhaps hatred, to expect; for princes seldom love the man who refuses their favours. The uncommon brightness of his understanding, and the liveliness of his wit, were such recommendations to him in a court, and especially to a sovereign who had so much himself, and allowed the greatest latitude in that way to all around him, as could not have failed of rendering him a general favourite, if his rigid manners, and blunt frankness, had not disgusted, because they reproached, those whom his conversation delighted. Had he not of himself told us the very early progress he made in letters, it would have been difficult to have reconciled his learning with his military life, which seems to have allowed no leisure for study. At seventeen years old he entered the army; was a captain fifty years, forty-four of which he was maitre de camp, and thirty-two also marechal de camp; continually engaged in the field, or some military operations; yet his writings are very numerous, and lasting monuments of his genius. Some of them, indeed, though admired at the season they were written, being relative only to the occurrences of those times, have now lost much of their merit, as the poignancy of the satire, and the play of wit to be found in them, are no longer felt, nor in many

* His works.

parts

parts difcerned, from our ignorance of the things defigned to be ridiculed. Of thefe are les Confeffions de Sancy, and les Avantures du Baron de Fæneste. The merit of his General hiftory of his own time, did not depend on times and feafons; it will always be efteemed as one of the beft during that period, though none ever produced a greater number of hiftorians, the natural confequence of an uncommon feries of interefting and fhining events.

Henry the IVth had very early recommended to D'Aubigné to write his hiftory; perhaps forefeeing in his own fpirit that he fhould furnifh him with noble materials; but D'Aubigné not having the fame forefight, or not depending fo much upon it, told him on his repeating the order, on a trifling incident, which arofe in a hunting match during his detention at the court of his brother-in-law, " Do you begin to act, " fire, and I will begin to write *." The king foon provided matter for the hiftorian's pen, and D'Aubigné very diligently recorded it. About eight years after Henry's converfion to the Romifh church, he was advifed by a jefuit to prohibit D'Aubigné from continuing to write his hiftory; but cardinal du Perron, with a candour that does him honour, perfuaded his majefty on the contrary, not only to permit, but exprefsly to command him to continue it; obferving that he knew no other perfon fo well qualified in every refpect to perform it well. His advice prevailed fo far, that the king even promifed to defray the expence of his journey to the places where any memorable action had

* Preface à l'Hift. Univ. D'Aub. p. 6.

 been

been performed, that for the better illuſtration of battles or ſieges, he might give plans inſtead of deſcriptions, as affording more perfect explanation †. But the execution of this deſign being delayed, the king's untimely death prevented that illuſtration, as the expence was too great for a man who had gained little more than honour by his long ſervices; but he ſent into every province in France to collect materials, and appointed places to which they might tranſmit their intelligence; deſirous of doing particular juſtice to every brave man, at the ſame time that he gave the general hiſtory of his nation, and indeed of the world in that period, for it extends to every part where the events were known in Europe. He concludes his ſecond volume with a noble addreſs to thoſe, however mean by birth, who had a ſhare in any conſiderable action; and to the deſcendants or relations of thoſe who were deceaſed, to urge them by the ſtrongeſt motives to communicate to him every incident that could render his hiſtory more complete, or record the honour which themſelves, their anceſtors, or relations, obtained in that great field of glory. When he had occaſion to mention his own actions in his hiſtory, whereever it could well be done, he avoids his name, calling himſelf ſometimes an equerry of the king's, at others a ſtandard-bearer, a campmaſter, a man, and other appellations, by which, did not his private memoirs ſerve as a key to his hiſtory in that reſpect, it would be impoſſible to know that he was the perſon meant.

† Imprimeur au lecteur, before his Univ. Hiſt.

THOSE

THOSE memoirs were written only for the ufe of his children, never publifhed by him, nor till very long after his death. He left but two copies of them, and defired they might never be publifhed *. Herein he was difobeyed; and there feems fo little reafon for burying them in oblivion, that the difobedience is excufeable.

His hiftory was burnt by the common hangman †; the charge againft it was his having fpoken too freely of princes, and it may be added too freely alfo of the jefuits, which was probably the greater crime. He faid on the occafion, that he could not be offended at the treatment given to his book, after having feen the holy Bible ignominioufly hanged on a gibbet, (for thus had fome fiery zealots ufed the Bibles they had taken from the huguenots, to fhew their *pious* hatred to all tranflations of that book into their native tongue) and fourfcore thoufand innocent perfons maffacred without provocation ‡. The hiftory written by monfieur de Thou, a catholic, though a moderate one, met with the fame fate at Rome, that D'Aubigné's had at Paris; and it was even debated in council whether the like fentence fhould not pafs againft it in France; but D'Aubigné fpoke ftrongly in its favour, affirming that no Frenchman had ever before given fuch evident proof

* Hift. Sec. D'Aub. p. 3.

† Recueil des ftatuts et reglemens des marchands libraires et imprimeurs de la ville de Paris, par M. L. Brouchel, avocat en parlement, p. 62. tit. 11. art. 74. Manufcript account of D'Aub.

‡ Manufcript account of D'Aubigné.

 of

of ſolid judgement and ſteady application, which were not generally allowed to be the characteriſtic of the nation, and therefore his work did it ſuch honour as every Frenchman ſhould wiſh to cheriſh, not to blaſt with the breath of faction and prejudice. The hiſtories of De Thou and D'Aubigné have ſhewn that injuſtice and malice cannot for any great length of time triumph over merit and truth; whatever ſentences were pronounced againſt them, they are ſtill eſteemed, and read with pleaſure. D'Aubigné was little mortified by the treatment his works received; his mind was ſuperior to the injuries done him by a mean-ſpirited prince, and his venal court; he had borne with equanimity ill treatment from one whoſe actions could excite in him more acute ſenſations; from his king, to whom he was ſo ſtrongly attached by duty and affection, that every appearance of neglect or ingratitude made the deepeſt impreſſions on his heart. But from his own words we may learn how he ſupported the injuſtice ſhewn him. "Bred," ſays he, "at the feet of my king, from whom "I never ſwerved in his moſt trying adverſities, "for ſome time I was cheriſhed in his boſom, "without an equal in his favour and confidence, "though then full of my provincial frankneſs "and ſeverity; at other times I was removed "from his favour and his court; but ſtill ſo "unſhaken in my fidelity, that even while "diſgraced, he truſted me with his moſt important ſecrets and concerns. I received from him "ſuch benefits as ſufficed to ſupport, but not to "exalt me; and when I have ſeen myſelf ſupplanted by my inferiors, and even by thoſe "who through my intereſt were received into

"his

" his service, I have consoled myself by reflect-
" ing, that both they and I had served well, they
" to the satisfaction of their master, and I to
" my own *." They obtained wealth and titles, D'Aubigné his own approbation and the undisturbed felicity of a clear conscience. They sought the favour of the king of France, he of the King of kings.

* Preface to his Universal History, p. 5.

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